For Reference

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

PHONOLOGY OF THE GALICIAN GERMAN DIALECT OF

STONY PLAIN, ALBERTA

A THESIS

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ABSTRACT

This study concerns the German spoken in Stony Plain, a small town twenty-three miles west of Edmonton, Alberta. The settlement was founded in the years 1891-94 mostly by families from Galicia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The German speaking population of that province was only a tiny fraction of the whole.

Material for the phonology was gathered chiefly from one informant. Using Standard German as a guide, the writer composed questions to elicit words aimed at covering all phonemes in all positions. Interviews were conducted in German and recorded both on tape and in phonetic transcription. These recordings and others of free conversation were used to prepare the phonological analysis.

Important features of the idiolect are (1) the lack of rounded front vowel phonemes, (2) nasalization, (3) the neutralization of the contrast between initial voiced and voiceless stop phonemes, (4) the occurrence of spirant allophones for the voiced stop phonemes in medial position.

The idiolect appears to be connected with the present-day dialects of Rhenish Frankonian and Swabian.

The influence of English is very strong even in the German of the older folk. Many of the younger generation do not understand the dialect.

PREFACE

With the mass movement of Europeans to the North American continent and the contact of their languages, the linguist is presented with a complex situation.

This thesis attempts to record just a minute part of the complete picture: it is limited spatially to one small area, chronologically to one point of time, numerically to one principal informant and linguistically to one aspect of her idiolect. Its significance is to be derived ultimately from its relation to the whole.

With the increasing influence of English on other languages spoken on this continent, the task of recording the disappearing tongues becomes urgent, lest (as in the case of Lunenberg German) we are left with nothing but a few peculiarities of the English spoken in the former linguistic islands. With this in mind the present thesis was undertaken.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A. <u>Settlement History</u>

The settlers who founded the Stony Plain settlement came from Galicia, which in the mid-eighteenth century was still a Polish province. At the division of Poland by the three expanding powers: Russia, Prussia and Austria, Galicia fell to the Austrian House of Habsburg.[1] The Empress Maria Theresia and her successor Joseph II welcomed settlement in Galicia from German speaking areas but made no effort to force Austrian culture on the Slavic inhabitants. Indeed, they furthered native Ukrainian and Polish culture.

Philip Schütz, husband of the chief informant, states that his family moved from Germany to Galicia in 1780. This agrees with Thierfelder's conclusion that two waves of immigration took place: between 1781 and 1805, then between 1810 and 1852.[2] The same author finds that Galicia's German population was more richly developed than that of Volhynia. He mentions Western Germany as the origin of the settlers and estimates their number in 1936 as approximately 60,000.

The fact that this is only a small proportion of the total population, may account for the absence of reference to

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[1] See map in Appendix, p. 126

[2] Franz Thierfelder, "Deutsche Sprache im Ausland," <u>Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss</u>, ed. Wolfgang Stammler (Berlin, 1957), I, 1406.

them in general historical studies of the area. Nevertheless, they showed great organizing ability, and shortly before the Second World War there were three German newspapers in Galicia and no fewer than ninety-five schools in which German was the language of instruction, and twenty-seven Polish schools in which it was taught as a foreign tongue.[3] The entire population in the early twentieth century was about seven million, of which forty-five per cent was Polish and forty-two per cent Ruthenian (Ukrainian). Jews numbered 770,000. The population of the capital, Lviv (Lemberg), was 159,000.[4]

In the late nineteenth century thousands of Galician Germans were settling in Canada and the United States. When asked why she left, Mrs. Schütz, the chief informant, stated that her family had been too large for the farm to support, and, since there was no more unbroken land to settle, she decided to emigrate to the New World. We may assume that her case was typical.

German immigration to the Canadian West before 1900 had been generally light, wherefore the appearance of eighty families from Germany and Austro-Hungary at Medicine Hat in 1890 was a significant event.[5] The exact proportion from

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[3] Thierfelder, p. 1406.

[4] These population figures are from the entry under "Galicia," _Encyclopedia Britannica_, 11th ed. (Cambridge, Engl., 1910), XI, 401-402.

[5] Katharine Schütz was not in this group.

Galicia is unknown. Because the area first intended for
their settlement, at Dunmore, near Medicine Hat, proved un-
suitable for continued cultivation, the group split up.
Some went east to Neudorf in Saskatchewan; some decided to
investigate the area around Edmonton. The latter group was
moved by the C.N.R. to Red Deer, then the end of steel.
From there, harassed by forest fires and slowed down by
mud and muskeg, they brought their cattle, farm and house-
hold equipment to Edmonton.

Observers were sent out into the surrounding country
to prospect for settlement sites. The Reformed Church group
decided to homestead in the Beaver Hills district, while the
Lutherans, estimated at thirty families, mostly from Galicia,
elected to treck westward across the large area known as
"Stony Plain."[6] In 1891 homesteads were built in what are
now the areas of Spruce Grove and Stony Plain.

The importance of the church in the settlement
cannot be overestimated. Church activity was then, and
continued to be, extremely lively and was shared in by a very
high percentage of those belonging to the Lutheran confession.
The people of this faith are now, to all practical intents,
identical with the originally German-speaking population of
Stony Plain, and the influence and number of any other lin-

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[6] For a map showing places mentioned,
see Appendix, p. 127.

guistic group in the settlement until recent times are small by comparison. Therefore, if the following account of the growth of the community reflects largely the history of its Lutheran congregation, it is because the closely associated German element is our primary concern.[7]

The first Lutheran place of worship inWestern Canada was a combination of church and parsonage, built in 1892 in Spruce Grove. A dispute arising over the buying of another site for a bigger church, resulted in twenty families being expelled from the congregation,which was attached to the Canadian Synod. It may be that this unfortunate incident was responsible for the growth of two separate centres: Spruce Grove, about twenty miles west of Edmonton, and Stony Plain, some three miles father on, for at the latter place, in 1894, the rejected families formed another congregation, and a second combination church-parsonage was built there the following year. This time their pastor was from the Missouri Synod.

The Reverend Emil Eberhardt not only held German services in Stony Plain, he also began a school, teaching bible history, reading and writing in German and English. Since he did not feel at ease preaching in English, it is reasonable to suspect that his school was conducted mostly in German. But the pastor had been sent out as a missionary and,

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[7] For some population statistics and comments concerning Stony Plain see Appendix E,p.128.

in fulfilling his duties in this direction, was unable to teach in the school as often as he would have liked.

More Galician and other German-speaking settlers, some of whom had homesteaded first in Ontario or the United States, swelled the church membership to 571 in 1899.

The liveliness of the community and its willingness to sacrifice can be judged by the fine, expensive church erected in that year. In such a close-knit group the language was likely to be maintained longer than in one with interests outside itself. Its isolation, before the coming of graded road and railway, was also conducive to conserving the German language. Community building zeal was still active in 1904 as seen by the completion of an eleven-room parsonage.

The church was able to release a daughter congregation in 1909 to Golden Spike, a few miles south of Stony Plain, without losing its pre-eminence at home, though a small Methodist congregation in 1907 is evidence of organized Anglo-Saxon activity.

Evidence of the vigour of the German speaking element lies in the development of its Christian Day School. By 1905 it had an enrollment of sixty; in 1909 a qualified, full-time teacher was appointed, and in 1913 a new building was erected, which served the needs of the children until 1954.

Apart from church matters, the next five or six years saw the building of hotels, a bank and a law office. Migration to the Canadian West was in full swing. Land prices were

rocketing because of the flood of settlers, especially from the United States. Approximately 200,000 of them came to Western Canada in 1907. By 1908 the C.N.R. had built its track as far as Stony Plain. This brought a sharp boost to the town's merchants, whose stocks supplied new settlers disembarking at the terminus, headed for land further west.

The fertility of the soil was soon realized. Even in 1893 grains of wheat grown in Stony Plain were exhibited at the Chicago World Fair.

Yet the very commercial success of the community opened the way for an attack on its linguistic character. Good lines of communication are essential to thriving trade. The town's isolation was broken by the coming of the railway, which had linked Stony Plain with either coast by 1911. In these and the following years the building of a permanent road to Edmonton was facilitated by the drainage of the worst of the intervening muskeg. The intercourse made possible by such means of communication led, of course, to an increase in the influence of English on the German language. And, most important, it was in English that all business had to be conducted.

While the adults spoke German exclusively among themselves (English services were not introduced until 1929), they realized that they had to educate their children for life in a predominantly English speaking country where knowledge of only their own language and culture would be insufficient, and therefore appreciated the reasonableness of laws

rejecting German as a language of general instruction. The steady increase in importance of English for the children was greatly accelerated by the outbreak of war in 1914, when public opinion was so strong against German elements in the population that the Provincial Government ordered the Lutheran school in Stony Plain to be closed. The pupils were sent to public schools where they came into closer contact with English, and no doubt felt the suspicion their language aroused in their class-mates. One might conjecture that before long they became infected with the notion that German was in some way inferior and so adopted English enthusiastically. How else can we explain that these young-sters, schooled in those bitter years, became such energetic campaigners in the late 1920's for church services in English?

Nevertheless, the Stony Plain community showed remarkable resilience. In 1921, having obtained legal advice, the congregation reopened its church school. For reasons never satisfactorily explained by the government it was ordered closed. The conviction that injustice had been done was so deeply felt that a committee of three left for Mexico to prospect for a resettlement area. During their absence much effort was made by those at home to obtain satisfaction, but it is thought that only the action of the Mexico committee persuaded the authorities to reverse their decision and allow the school to reopen.

A second school was opened in 1924 to accommodate

growing demand.

Morale was weakened by the financial strains of the thirties followed by a second wave of anti-German feeling accompanying the Second World War. It was not as intense as it had been from 1914-1918 owing largely to a reduced use of German in the community (English services were given twice monthly and increased in 1943 to one a week). In addition, the English radio program, "The Lutheran Hour," gave evidence that this church was as benevolent as any other. It can scarcely be doubted, though, that the long war years brought unpopularity on the German language, accelerating the natural drift to English; and the movement of population, result of both war and earlier economic difficulties, loosened long standing ties in the German-speaking community.

The congregation showed indomitable spirit by the building of yet another school in 1954, which replaced the two existing ones. Grades I-IX are taught, and the 1962 enrollment of 116 represents very nearly one hundred per cent of the congregation's children. German is not taught here and even in the town's High School, this subject is not, at the time of writing, offered.

Today, those people in Stony Plain attached to the Missouri Synod, form only one of the settlement's six congregations but make up three-eighths of the town's population. Taken together with the members of the Canadian Lutheran Synod, they make up half the population.

German is spoken now predominantly by the old folk.
Fewer people of middle age use it to one another, and the
younger generation, it is said, scarcely understands it.
This is, of course, a generalization and as such is liable
to be wrong in many cases, but it correctly indicates that
as a lively medium of communication Stony Plain German is
fading. This study hopes to record its phonology before it
disappears.

2. Informants

The chief informant, Katharine Schütz, was born
in Neudorf, five miles from Strye, Galicia, in 1877. As one
of nine children, she was soon obliged to support herself,
and after receiving an elementary education, worked as a
housemaid from the age of sixteen to twenty.

Then, as an immigrant in Winnipeg, where an uncle
worked as an immigration official, she met and married Philipp
Hermann, who had come from a German speaking village in
Slavonic linguistic territory. The couple rented a farm in
Langton, North Dakota, for six years before building a home-
stead in the Saskatoon area, in which they lived for eighteen
years and brought up two children. During this time they
lived near other settlers from Galicia and were joined by
other members of Mrs. Schütz's family. Next they moved to
Saskatoon,where after nine years, Mr. Hermann died. Five
years later, in 1944, the informant came to live at Stony
Plain as the wife of Philipp Schütz, whom she had known at

school in Galicia.

She has, of course, heard many types of German spoken, but feels that the dialect prevalent in Stony Plain is, apart from borrowings from English, her own native tongue.

Philipp Schütz also gave much help in the collecting of material for the phonology. He was born in Strye, Galicia, in 1874. His schooling was frequently interrupted. He emigrated with his parents to Winnipeg, where his sister was born. This family was one of those at Dunmore that came via Red Deer over the trail to Edmonton; it was also one of the founder families of the Galician settlement and was one of the families expelled from the original congregation in the dispute over purchase of land, hence also one of those that began the thriving community known as Stony Plain.

As a founder member of the church and head of a family with fourteen children, Philipp Schütz has not left the settlement for any length of time and has always been a prominent member of the community. All his children speak German.
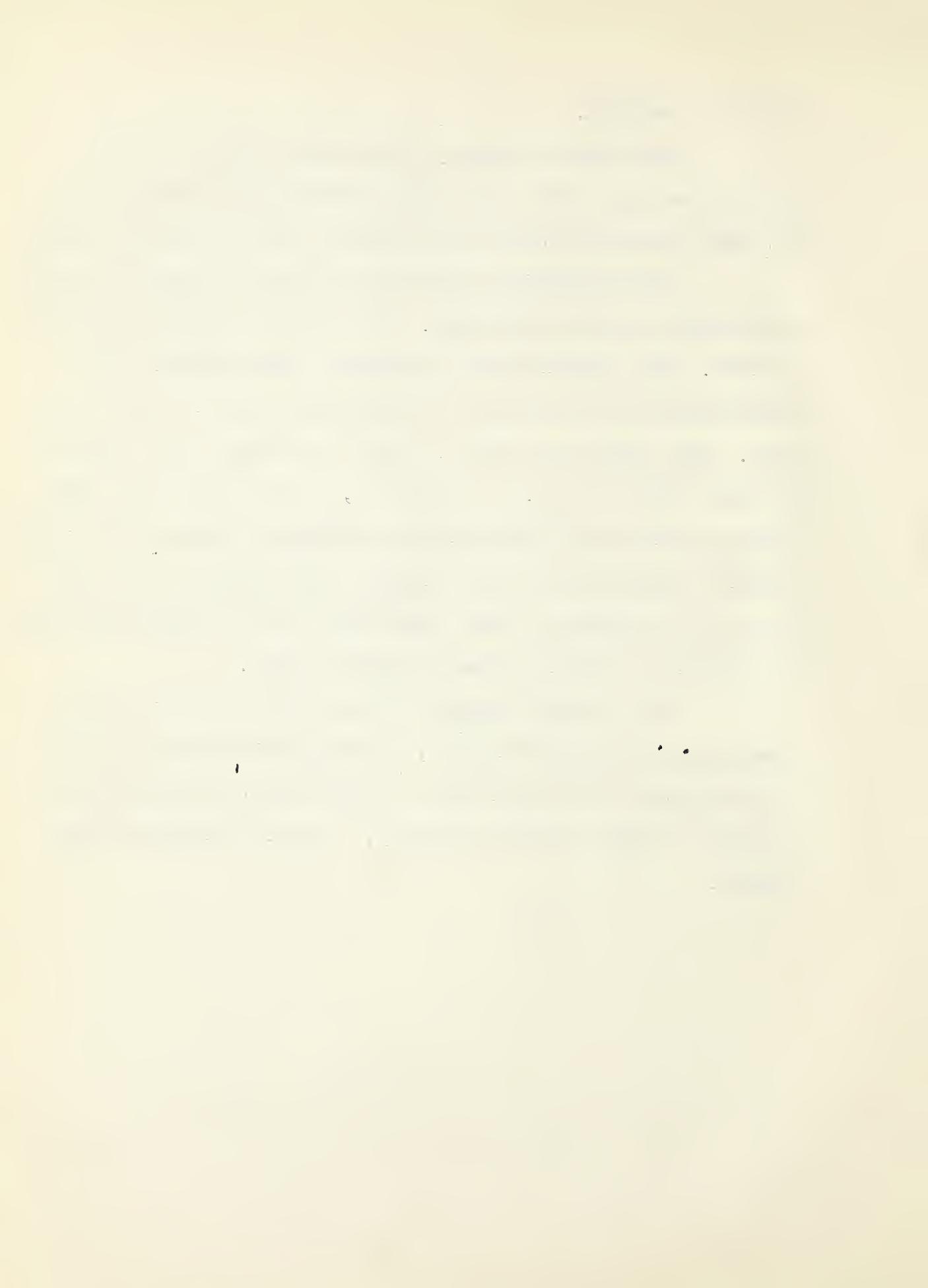
CHAPTER II

FIELD PROCEDURE

The composition of the questionnaire was inspired
in large part by that infinitely fuller and superior one
devised for the Linguistic Atlas of New England.[1] Since
nothing was known of the dialect in Stony Plain, the inves-
tigator was unable to concentrate on words showing clearly
any special features. A list of common words was drawn up
with the aim of including at least twice every standard
German phoneme in every position in addition to common con-
sonant clusters. These words were then grouped according to
subjects (in as far as was possible) such as house and home,
food, people, church, farming and so on. Questions in German
were composed, each one with the aim of eliciting one word
in the list, with the exception of a small number intended
to elicit anything up to a dozen words, e.g. "Name the month
of the year." There were 245 questions in all.

Having made contact with someone familiar with
Stony Plain, the writer was taken to see a number of inhabit-
ants of long standing, not only with a view to choosing an
informant, but also to become acquainted with local conditions.

The term /'švebiš/ 'Swabian', is used by the German

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[1] Information on this questionnaire is contained in
Hans Kurath, Handbook of the Linguistic Geography
of New England (Providence, 1939).

inhabitants of Stony Plain to describe their speech. The obvious conclusion is that the original settlers came to a large extent from Swabia, but this is not the case. The term /'švebiš/ and its equivalents are frequently used in German linguistic islands for the local speech, although the settlers come from various parts of the German-speaking area.[2] It gradually became evident that many of the settlers regarded themselves as Austrian and/or Galician, and it was partly this fact that carried the decision on the informant.

Having chosen an informant, the investigator held usually two interviews a week, each of a maximum duration of two hours. The informant's statement that her speech was like most of the others' was in general borne out by the writer's limited experience. However, since some minor differences were observed, the term idiolect is used in this thesis instead of dialect. The decision to use one principal informant was the result of time shortage.

The meetings were held in German. It might be argued that the interviewer's pronunciation could affect that of the interviewee; but the informant was more at ease in her mother tongue and often spoke freely about some topic suggested by the question. These passages were valuable in assessing the naturalness of the single utterances given in

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[2] This is attested by Pavel Breznik, Die Mundart der hochdeutschen Ansiedlung Franztal in Jugoslawien (Halle/Saale, 1935).

direct answer to questions. Such prolonged responses would
have been unlikely if the material had been elicited on a
translation basis. Furthermore, the informant was aware
that the dialect form and not the Standard German form was
being sought; she would often contrast the two and on some
occasions search in her mind for an expression no longer
used in the community. Her husband would also join in the
discussion but tended to give Standard German forms, where-
upon the informant would immediately draw his attention to
that fact.

The place of all interviews was in the Old People's
Home in Stony Plain. This was advantageous in that friends
often came into the room and joined the discussions raised
on the subject of local speech. It afforded also an oppor-
tunity of comparing pronunciations and, furthermore, allowed
the speakers to forget that the writer was present.

Extensive use was made of a tape recorder, some
7,000 feet of tape being filled. The disadvantages of a
tape-recorder are two-fold: it can make an informant feel ill
at ease and records nothing of physical movements such as
lip rounding. It is also sometimes objected that a recording
is acoustically unreliable; but this is simply untrue, unless
the apparatus is of inferior manufacture or is being used
ineptly. The real obstacles were easily overcome. The in-
formant was more amused than intimidated by the recorder, so
that its influence on the atmosphere of the interviews was

beneficial. To ensure that all visible details were recorded, the field worker noted such features as bilabial articulation, lip rounding, lip spreading and lip protrusion with a single symbol and completed the transcription when the tape was played back later. Little transcription was attempted during the interview, for the writer, sensing that tempo and interest lagged while he transcribed, was apt to be too hasty and consequently inaccurate. It was found to be more conducive to natural behaviour if little written recording was carried out in the interview.

A valuable lesson was learned in question phrasing. When a question failed to obtain a quick answer, or failed to elicit anything of value at all, the reason was usually that the conception was too abstract. Several questions were later purposely omitted because of expected difficulty.

When the last question had been dealt with, a rough phonemicisation was begun. About half the material gathered was entered onto cards in such a way that every probable phoneme in every position had a separate entry card. The first draft was then made. Where it needed filling out, or re-investigating, further examples were sought in the second half of the material. As this part of the work proceeded, notes were made of points of doubt, and matter was thus gathered for two or three more interviews: this time the translation method was used because of its faster results. In this way the final version was obtained.

One doubt that dogged the writer constantly was whether he was transcribing the fully natural speech of the informant or a dialect type modified towards Standard German. There is always a tendency among dialect speakers to use standard forms with strangers, because dialect is felt to be more suitable for intimate use and is associated with a restricted area or group of people, and also because the stranger being addressed is assumed to be unfamiliar with local speech. Certainly, these attitudes appeared to obtain during the present investigation, but there was no suspicion of another common difficulty met by field workers, namely, the unwillingness of some informants to admit the use of dialect forms owing to the commonly attached social stigma. If such were the conditions, it is probable that forms given as single-word answers are more reliable indications of the dialect than forms heard in conversation with the writer.

CHAPTER III

PHONOLOGY

A. INTRODUCTION

1. <u>Division of Speech Sounds</u>. As a general division of
speech sounds for the purposes of orderly presentation,
three categories have been adhered to: (a) vowels, those
sounds which in the present idiolect bear the climax of
a syllable when the lexemes in which they occur are spoken
with emphasis; (b) consonants, those sounds which under
the same conditions as in (a) fall either side of the
syllabic climax and (c) consonant clusters. Thus, the term
<u>initial</u> applied to a consonant is given the meaning: in
word-initial position followed immediately by a vowel; si-
milarly <u>medial</u> means: standing alone between vowels; <u>final</u>
must then signify: in word-final position preceded immedi-
ately by a vowel.[1]

   This three-fold division is, however, not wholly
practicable on a phonetic level, for in certain realizations
of lexemes nasal and lateral consonants function as vowels,
that is, they bear the climax of a syllable. This subject
is dealt with more fully later.[2]

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[1] Where a compound consists of two free morphemes, e.g.
/'blumən,kaxəl/, the first phoneme of the second element
may be considered initial if its realization is typical
of initial position.

[2] See page 22.

All realizations of the semi-vowel /j/ fall within the consonant category.

2. <u>Order of Phonemes</u>. The order in which the phonemes are listed is not alphabetical. For the vowels the first phoneme is high front, after which the order descends through the front vowels to low front; then, moving back to include low central and low back, rises through the back vowels to high back. The "schwa" is included at this point, before the treatment of the diphthongs.

For the consonants the order depends on (a) the degree of hindrance to the breath stream, (b) voicing, (c) point of articulation. This means that under (a) stops precede affricates, which in their turn precede spirants; lastly come nasals, laterals and trills. Under (b) within these groups voiceless precede voiced sounds and under (c) where the first two means of ordering do not suffice, a sound articulated forward in the mouth precedes one articulated further back.

This gives the following order:

Vowels: /i/, /I/, /e/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɑ/, /ɔ/, /ω/, /ω̹/,
　　　　　/o/, /U/, /u/, /ə/;

Diphthongs: /aU/, /aI/, /ɔI/;

Consonants: /p/, /t/, /k/, /b/, /d/, /g/,
　　　　　　 /t͡s/, /č/,
　　　　　　 /f/, /v/, /s/, /š/, /x/, /h/,
　　　　　　 /m/, /n/, /ŋ/,
　　　　　　 /l/, /r/, /j/.

B. VOWELS

1. Bases of differentiation. The vowels show a complex
based on contrasts in length, tension and height; length
is of greatest importance, while contrasts in tension are
often blurred by a tendency to laxness, and height is also
unreliable. To give an example, what distinguishes /mit/
'tired' from /mIt/ 'with' is that /i/ is longer, and
usually laxer and higher than /I/. Similarly the /e/ of
/bedə/ 'to pray' is longer and usually laxer and higher
than the /ɛ/ of /bɛtər/ 'beds'. In these two cases length
is the basis of the most important acoustic distinction.
Less important are height and tension, since low allophones
of /i/ and /e/ overlap the higher limits respectively of
/I/ and /ɛ/, which are often lax when not in a prominent
position in the sentence.

What is true of these front-vowel contrasts is
also true of the distinctions /a/:/ɑ/, /u/:/U/, /o/:/ɔ/;
but here the feature of rounding also plays a part. Indeed,
an essential difference between /a/ in /has/ (I) 'hate' and
/ɑ/ in /hɑs/ 'rabbit' is that /ɑ/ is more rounded. It is
more retracted, and in a typical realization it also possesses
the qualities of greater length, greater laxness, and decreas-
ed height as against /a/. Presumably because of the many
ways in which /ɑ/ may differ from /a/, and because low back
vowels are the most difficult to distinguish acoustically
one from another, /ɑ/ has developed a wide range of allophones

in free variation, from low central to low back, and varies
also in the degree of rounding.

Moving now to the high back phonemes, we find
that both are rounded but that /u/ is more so than /U/. It
is also longer, laxer, and higher. No cases were recorded,
however, in which two words depended solely on this distinc-
tion for conveying different meanings.[3] We have an analogous
pair in /šUk/ 'shoe' and /šu/ 'shoes'. The /k/ was never
recorded as released; therefore, its acoustic effect is
rather to cut off the vowel abruptly, intensifying the vo-
calic contrast with /šu/, which always has an offglide.

The distinction between /o/ and /ɔ/ is analogous
to that between /u/ and /U/, except that /ɔ/ is also more
central than /o/. Here too, there is difficulty in finding
minimal pairs. Only one was recorded, and that is not a
good example: /hols/ 'fetch it' is realized as [hoᵊɫts] with
an excrescent [t], which combines with the following [s] to
give an affricate [t͜s]; phonetically we now have the same con-
sonants as in /hɔlts/ 'wood'. Only /o/:/ɔ/ gives them dif-
ferent meanings.

Phonemes /ω/ and /ω̨/ are both nasalized, but /ω̨/
alone has phonemic nasalization. They are distinguished also
by height, from /o/ and /ɑ/. They are distinguished from

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[3] One could argue from the evidence collected that /u/ and /U/
were positional variants; /u/ appears in open syllables, /U/
in closed. In view of the incomplete evidence, and the type
of contrast exemplified by the front vowels, it was decided
to regard them as separate phonemes.

/ɔ/ by their nasalization, greater length, greater rounding and decreased tension. The symbols /ꭢ̰/ and /ꭢ/ do not represent two separate phonemes, but one, in which the nasalization is sometimes phonemic as in /štꭢ̰/ 'stone', and sometimes non-phonemic as in /t̶s̶ꭢn/. Strictly speaking, /ꭢ̰/ is two phonemic symbols /,/ and /ꭢ/. The subject of phonemic nasalization is dealt with elsewhere.[4]

2. <u>Length</u>. In designating degrees of vowel length, three terms were found necessary: <u>long</u>, <u>normal</u>, <u>short</u>. The functional contrast is between long on the one hand and normal or short vowels on the other. Phonemically we have, therefore, only two categories: long and normal; the latter was again divided because of the occurrence of a shorter vowel in certain phonetic environments; therefore, instead of positing a separate allophone for each vowel phoneme, it is considered preferable to indicate where short vowels are likely to occur.

We are concerned only with /I/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, /U/; other phonemes do not give rise to short vowels. When they occur before /r/ plus a voiceless consonant they are short, e.g. /kurts/ 'short', /hart/ 'hard', /štark/ 'strong'. Here the feature is most marked. Other environments are before /št/, between /š/ and a voiceless stop, and generally before /p/, e.g./pɔšt/ 'post office', /šIp/ 'shovel', /šUtər/ 'rubble', /tɔp/ 'pot', /tɛp/ 'pots'.

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[4] See pp. 23ff.

There are certain consonants and consonant clusters which, in the evidence at hand, are never preceded by long vowels. These are: /p/, /k/, /ts/, /š/, /x/, /ŋ/, /št/ and /r/ plus a consonant.

When we examine the effect of a following [ř] or [ɼ] upon any given vowel phoneme, we notice that, with some exceptions, there is an allophone before this sound consistently different from most other realizations. With some phonemes the difference is slight and unreliable, and with others marked and regular.

If one takes the allophone as a deviation from the norm, there is a central hub towards which all these movements of deviation tend. Back vowels are centralized and high and mid front vowels are lowered; the position of /a/ is not affected. Here, the low front position, is the converging point of deviations caused by a following [ř] or [ɼ]. The notable allophonic variants are: [ɛ:] from /i/; [ɛ] from /I/; [æ] from /ɛ/; [ɐ] from /ɔ/.

3. <u>Secondary and tertiary stress</u>. By far the greatest amount of attention has been given to vowels under primary stress. Under secondary stress, vowels tend to show certain features, which are intensified under tertiary stress. Although we are referring here to word-stress, which remains constant for any given word, similar behaviour is noticed under reduced sentence-stress. For example, the /I/ in /'predIx/ 'sermon' has tertiary stress;[5] the /I/ in /In/ 'in' is likely to have

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[5] No symbol is used to indicate tertiary stress.

a similar realization, because the word is usually
unemphasized in its sentence.

The effect of tertiary stress on vowels could be
dealt with at great length, but for present purposes a
detailed examination was not undertaken. The most striking
and obvious effect is that of shortening and laxening. The
vowel phonemes /I/ and /ɛ/, both tense in syllables with
primary stress, are found in /'naIdIx/ 'angry' and /fɛ'brɔx/
'broken' slightly reduced in length and considerably in
tension.

Loss of length is more noticeable in the long
phonemes. Thus, /du/ has [u:] or [u:ᵊ] under primary stress;
under tertiary there will be no offglide and the vowel will
be normal or short in length: /ˌven du mir 'hɛlfšt/ 'if you
help me' has [du], i.e. the vowel has lost in length.

In another recording of the same lexeme /du/,
another important characteristic of tertiary stress is
featured: centralization. A schwa represents the phoneme /u/.
Lastly there are cases where /ə/ is reduced to zero.[6]

4. Vocalic consonants. Nasal and lateral consonants also serve
on occasions to bear the climax of a syllable with tertiary
stress. In phonemic transcription examples are obscured
because a schwa always precedes the vocalic consonant. This
is done because there is no phonemic difference between [əm]

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[6] See /ə/ in the list of phonemes. Page 67-68.

and [m] or any other such pair. Sometimes the [ə] is present,
sometimes absent; therefore, unless we posit a phoneme /ə/
which may be realized as zero [∅], there will be occasions
when a vowel [ə] is heard, for which there is no explanation
in the phonemic transcription.

      Examples are as follows:

/m/ /UnIx dɛm altə hun/ 'under the old hen'
     [UnIxdm̥ʔaldə hu:ən]

/n/ /'hibən Unt 'dribən/ 'here and there'
     ['hI^ybm n 'drI^ybm]

     /'blumən‚kaxəl/ 'flower pot'
     ['blu:mn̩‚kaxəɫ]

/l/ /'bɪsəl/ 'bit' (in the phrase <u>a bit cold</u>)
     ['bɪsl̩]

5. <u>Nasalization</u>. The feature of nasalization is caused by a
dropping of the velum, allowing air to pass through, and vibrate
in, the nasal cavity. In the case of [m], [n], [ŋ], oral
occlusion is complete and all the expelled air leaves by the
nose. When vowels are nasalized, the air stream splits up at
the velum, some of it passing through the nasal cavity and the
rest through the mouth.

      In the idiolect under discussion, especially in less
meticulous speech, an /m/, /n/, or /ŋ/ is frequently anticipated,
causing the velum to drop while the vowel preceding the nasal is
still being pronounced.

      Some of the cases where this feature was clearly
audible are listed below:

[hI^i̯ən] /hin/ 'hens'

[řInt'] /rInt/ 'head of cattle'

[šdIŋgə] /štIŋkə/ 'to stink'

[sIŋə] /sIŋə/ 'to sing'

[drIŋgə] /trIŋkə/ 'to drink'

[ksIŋs] /gsIŋs/ 'singing' (pejorative)

[hI^ŋkl] /kIŋkəl/ 'chicken'

[řẹ:ᵊnə] /renə/ 'to rain'

[bɛŋk] /bɛŋk/ 'benches

[gədɛŋgə] /gədɛŋkə/ 'to remember'

[baŋk] /baŋk/ 'bench'

[šɹaŋk] /šrank/ 'cupboard'

[man] /man/ 'man'

[řɒ<:ᵊm] /rɑm/ 'cream

[hɑn] /hɑn/ (I) 'have'

[tswən] /tswn/ 'fence'

['o:mɛnts] /'o,mɛnts/ 'ant'

[ɫUŋ] /lUŋ/ 'lung'

[duᵊn] /tun/ (they) 'do'

     The phonemes /n/ and /ŋ/ cause greater nasalization than /m/. Similarly diphthongs, back vowels and long vowels more readily accept nasalization than front vowels or vowels of normal or short duration.

     Nasalization may be present in a vowel when no nasal follows:

[ře:ᵊ] /re/ 'rain' (noun)

[še:ᵊ] /še/ 'fine' 'nice(ly)'

[bɑ:ə̯] /bɑ/ 'railway'

[šo:] /šo/ 'already'

[hI^ə̯] /hi/ 'down' (adverb)

[daɪ̵] /daI/ 'your' (sing. fam.)

       Alternative forms were heard which contained a final /n/. Forms without /n/ are likely to be encountered in rapid speech rather than in words uttered singly.

    e.g. [šo:n] /šon/ 'already'

        [da blaŋk Isšo vIdər gəbrɔx] 'that fence is broken
                                           again'

        [še:n] /šen/ 'fine', nice(ly)

        [da fo: hat še: gsUŋ] 'the bird sang nicely'.

       Clearly, if a pair of words exists in which the only difference between them is in nasalization, then this feature would be phonemic. A minimal pair does exist in: [du̥:ə̯], alternative form of [du̥:ə̯n] /tun/ (they) 'do' and [du:ə] from /du/ 'you' (sing.fam.). Though such pairs are infrequent, there is reason to posit for this idiolect a phoneme of nasalization /,/.

       Nevertheless, the acceptance of this phoneme raises a problem. Consider the following forms of the same lexeme, /tun/ 'to do':

        (a) /t/ plus /u/ plus /n/
        (b) /t/ plus /u/ plus /,/
        (c) /t/ plus /u/ plus /,/ plus /n/

       Since /t/ and /u/ are common to all three realizations and since all three are equal in meaning then

        /n/ = /,/ = /,/ plus /n/

       This is clearly impossible. Again, taking a

phoneme to be the smallest speech unit capable of making a
change in meaning, let us remove /ˌ/ from form (c) above.
We obtain an acceptable form of the same lexeme; we have not
changed the meaning. Therefore, nasalization is not a phoneme
in this and similar cases.

Let us now consider /štǫ/ 'stone'. Its realization
is usually [šdǫ:ə]. Without nasalization, the vowel would
fall either to the /o/ or the /a/ phoneme, which would either
make another word or nonsense; in either case the sense is
changed, proving nasalization to be phonemic. A clearer case
is provided by [šde̦:ə] 'stones': remove the element of nasaliza-
tion and we are left with [šde:ə] which phonemically equals
/šte/ (I) 'stand'. In these two cases an /n/ is never present
so the nasalization from a phonological point of view cannot
be proved a realization of /n/, although we know from histori-
cal evidence that an /n/ was once present.

We therefore have two types of nasalization:
phonemic and non-phonemic. The phonemic type is never followed
immediately by another nasal sound; the non-phonemic type may
or may not be followed immediately by such a sound. The latter
type poses a problem in that the nasalization, when not followed
by a nasal consonant, has the ability to change meaning without
being a phoneme, for [du:ə] means 'you' and [du̦:ə] means 'to do'.

To solve this difficulty, we must regard as full
phonemes /ˌm/, /ˌn/, /ˌŋ/. Any one of these may be represented
allophonically by nasalization alone, by nasal consonant alone,

or by both elements. However, this is a cumbersome device
when it comes to be written, and nasalization is so common
in this idiolect that we may write simple /m/, /n/, /ŋ/,
bearing in mind that these consonants may be preceded by
nasalization that is not phonemic. Thus [duːᶿ] is /du/,
and [duː̦ᶿ] is /tun/, but for [šdꙇ̫ːᶿ] the phonemic trans-
cription is /štꙇ̫/.

Nasalization usually occurs as a phoneme with /ꙇ̫/,
but other cases are also recorded, e.g. /t̵se̦/ 'teeth'.

C. CONSONANTS

1. <u>Stops</u>. If we take a series of words which in Standard
German begin with a voiceless stop, we find that the corres-
ponding words in the idiolect under examination have often
a weakly voiced lenis stop.[7] Conversely, Standard German
initial voiced stops are reflected by stops only weakly
voiced. Although /p/, /t/, /k/ are not voiced in every case,
it is clear that this idiolect does not use a phonemic dis-
tinction in initial position based on the presence and absence
of voicing; nor is there any evidence of phonemic aspiration
or tension. The fact that voicing is not always present in
initial /p/, /t/, /k/ does not prevent their contrast with
/b/, /d/, /g/ from being neutralized, since it is now totally
unreliable as a guide to meaning.

There is, therefore, a difficulty in assigning any

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[7] This tendency is strongest in the case of /t/ which nearly
always is voiced: [d]. The least affected stop is /k/,
but even here the contrast /k/:/g/ is not dependable.

initial stop to the voiced or voiceless phoneme. To secure
reliable results, the investigator would have to obtain
several examples of every word in question. If there were
found a variation between voiced and voiceless in the stop
of one word, then this stop would be assumed to be from the
voiceless phoneme. If the stop were constantly voiced, it
would belong to the voiced phoneme. But this is a long
process; let us consider another possibility.

Since the contrast between the voiceless and
voiced stops is largely neutralized in initial position,
there should be in a strictly synchronic and non-comparative
study a symbol to represent a bilabial stop, voiced or
voiceless, and symbols likewise for the dental and velar
stops. This would necessarily be our course of action, if
we were transcribing a language hitherto unrecorded, but it
is a pointless encumbrance when dealing with a dialect of
one of the world's leading languages. In this study, there-
fore, we shall use standard German as a guide to transcribe
phonemically initial /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, at the
same time making quite clear that voicing in this position
does not act phonemically.

The release of stops in final position follows
no definite pattern but it can be said that emphasis laid
on the word in question is likely to result in release; the
desire for clarity will have a similar effect. In normal
speech, on the other hand, articulation finishes with the
occlusion in very many cases.

The medial allophones of the voiced stops are either stops or spirants. Their occurrence is governed in the following way: after a long vowel or diphthong and usually after a normal vowel the spirant is heard; for example, /gedə/ 'to weed' is [ge:ðə]

/plaUdərə/ 'to chat' is [plaᵁðərə]

/šIdə/ 'to pour' is either [šIðə] or [šIdə]; after a normal vowel and before a vocalic consonant, the stop occurs; for example, normally

/hIbəl/ 'hill' is [hIbl̩].

If, however, the /ə/ is realized (normally its realization here is zero), then the /b/ is released into the /ə/ instead of the /l/ and a spirant may be produced. Therefore,

/hIbəl/ is [hIbl̩] or [hIßəl] or [hIbəl].

No examples of /d/ plus vocalic consonant were recorded, and only one with /g/. Furthermore, with medial /g/ there is a strong tendency towards evanescence: [ɣ]∼[j]∼ zero

2. <u>Affricates</u>. Of the three affricates inherited from the High German Sound Shift, only /ts/ appears in this idiolect. It is no surprise not to find /kx/, since this is restricted to a small part of the German-speaking area. Forms such as /ɛpəl/, /kəp/, /damp/, /paIf/, /kləpə/ ('apples', 'head', 'steam', 'pipe', 'to knock') make one suspect that if/pf/ does occur, it is due to the influence of Standard German. Two occurrences were noted, but neither was native to the idiolect: /štɔpfə/ 'to darn' was given as the word used now,

whereas earlier /flIkə/ was used; the other case concerns /ˈɛrt,apfəl/ 'potato', which was said to be the term used by the Jews in Galicia, the other German speakers using /ˈgrUm,berə/.

Of [ts] there is abundant evidence, but from a phonological point of view, the question arises whether to regard it as a sequence: /t/, /s/, or as a phoneme /ts/. There is one fact to be considered in favour of the latter solution: the components of the affricate each act differently from their corresponding phonemes /t/ and /s/. The [t] of the affricate is never voiced, neither is the [s]; the latter component is more fortis than the phoneme /s/, and it appears before /t/which is atypical for this idiolect, in which /št/ is customary; for example, the third person singular present tense of /sItsə/, /šprItsə/ ('to sit', 'to spray') is /sItst/, /šprItst/; finally we observe that the component [t] is sometimes very weakly articulated in initial position, which is not true of /t/ leading any cluster. For these reasons /ts/ is regarded as a phoneme.

A problem is posed by such words as /vIrts,haUs/ 'inn'. Do we have here /ts/ or /t/ and /s/? On a strictly phonological examination, the investigator would be obliged to obtain the isolated forms /vIrt/ 'landlord' and /haUs/ 'house' before coming to the conclusion that the /s/ is in this case a bound morpheme. However, from historical and grammatical knowledge of the language, he may reduce his

labours, for the conclusion is foregone: we are dealing with
a sequence /t/, /s/.

Care should be taken, nevertheless, to distinguish
a phonemic from a phonetic affricate. In /'vIrts₁haUs/ we
have a stop released into the homorganic spirant; this is
phonetically an affricate. Is it, however, phonemically a
unit? No, it is two functional units: /t/, /s/. This is
not the same as the affricate in, for example, /aʦəl/ 'magpie'
from which no forms such as /at/ or /səl/ can be obtained,
because the [t] and the [s] belong to the same functional
unit /ʦ/.

A further recorded example of a phonetic affricate
which is not phonemic is [₁holtsər'aUs] 'fetch it out', in
which the [t] is excrescent.

Of less frequent occurrence is the affricate [ʧš].
The voiceless, palato-alveolar stop is released into the
homorganic fricative. We have here to decide, as in the case
of [ʦ], if we are dealing with a phonemic affricate or a
sequence of phonemes /t/, /š/. We shall consider the following
points:

(a) No allophone [ʧ] of /t/ is recorded (unless we
accept [ʧš] as a sequence).

(b) No examples are divisible into elements of a
compound in such a way that the stop is separated from the
spirant.

(c) There is no suggestion where [ʧš] is final that
[š] is a bound morpheme.

(d)   The affricate [ʦ] can be regarded as slow re-
lease of the stop [ʦ] and hence as one unit of speech sound.
To take a contrasting example, [š] and [t] in [št] are separated
by a change in point of articulation and are, therefore, two
units of speech sound.

Conclusion: [ʦ̌] is a phoneme. We shall indicate
the phoneme by the symbol /č/.

3. <u>Spirants</u>. The subject of contrast between voiced and voice-
less spirants deserves some attention. As we have seen, the
contrast /t/:/d/, /p/:/b/, /k/:/g/ in initial position is lost,
and in a dialect serving a dwindling proportion of a community
for only part of its everyday needs, in a dialect, therefore,
with a relatively small vocabulary, such contrasts are likely
to be of low yield.

The same is true of the spirants, among which only
initial /f/:/v/ can produce changes in meaning: /fɛrt/:/vɛrt/
'horse':'worth'; /fɔrt/:/vɔrt/'away':'word'. The contrast [s]:
[z] is altogether unproductive, and /š/ has no voiced counter-
part. In the borrowed word /'tɛlə‚vIšn̩/ 'television', an Eng-
lish [ʒ] has been replaced by the voiceless [š] - an unconscious
adaptation of the term to its new milieu. A voiced [h] was
recorded in [ksUnd'haᵉt'] /gəsUnt‚haIt/ 'health', but no
phonemic importance attaches to this. A voiced velar spirant
which is sometimes heard for intervocalic /x/, has identical
articulation to that of some realizations of intervocalic /g/
but lexemic coalescence is hardly possible, for, except in a
very limited number of cases, /x/ is preceded by normal vowels
and diphthongs, while /g/ follows long vowels.

If this is so, then we may speak of [ɟ] and [ɣ] being in mutually exclusive environments with [ç] and [x]. The voiced pair occurs after long vowels intervocalically; the unvoiced pair after normal vowels and diphthongs. It would appear then, that we have here allophones of one phoneme. What then, if it exists, are the other realizations of this phoneme? Initially, the only possibility is a velar stop: either [k] or [g]. Since /k/ occurs regularly as a stop in all positions, [g] is likely to be our choice. For the same reason the final allophones must be [ç] and [x]. This gives us the following pattern for this phoneme /g/.

> Initially: [g]
> Medially: [ɟ]~[ɣ] after long vowels;
>
>   [ç]~[x] after normal vowels and diphthongs
> Finally: [ç]~[x]

However, there are objections to this proposal if we consider the problem in a larger context. Consider the following table showing all stop phonemes at the left and in three columns the various positional realizations.

	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	[p]~[b]	[p]	[p]
/t/	[t]~[d]	[t]	[t]
/k/	[ḵ]~[k]~[g̊]~[g]	[k]	[k]
/b/	[b]	[b]~[ß]	-
/d/	[d]	[d]~[ð]	-
/g/	[g̊]~[g]	[g̊]~[g]~[ɟ]~[ɣ][7]	-
		[ç]~[x]	[ç]~[x]

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[7] Evidence for [g] rests on [rɔɡ̃] 'rye'. See page 75 (footnote).

Phonemic patterns tend to show regularity. Let us examine the above system with this in mind. The contrast based on voicing is neutralized in initial position by a tendency to voice all initial stops, and in final position by the voicelessness of all final stops. The presence of spirant allophones of /g/ among the final stops impairs the regularity of the system.

A greater disturbance is caused by the medial allophones of /g/. Phonemes /b/ and /d/ are realized by a medially voiced stop (sometimes after a normal vowel and regularly before a vocalic consonant) or a voiced spirant (in other cases). If we accept the evidence of [rɔgᴺŋ̩], then we have a voiced stop and a voiced spirant for /g/ also; but for this phoneme we have, in addition, voiceless allophones [ç] and [x]. This again breaks the regularity of the allophonic pattern.

For these reasons the voiceless allophones of /g/ as proposed, will be considered as belonging to another phoneme /x/.

	Initial	Medial	Final
/g/	[g]	[g]~[ɣ]~[ɟ]	–
/x/	–	[ç]~[x]	[ç]~[x]

The point of articulation of /x/ varies widely and is not restricted to one of two points for any one allophone. /Ix/ 'I' is well onto the hard palate; /maxən/ 'to make' has a spirant articulated around the margin of the soft and hard palates, while /lɔx/ 'hole' and /bUx/ 'book' terminate in
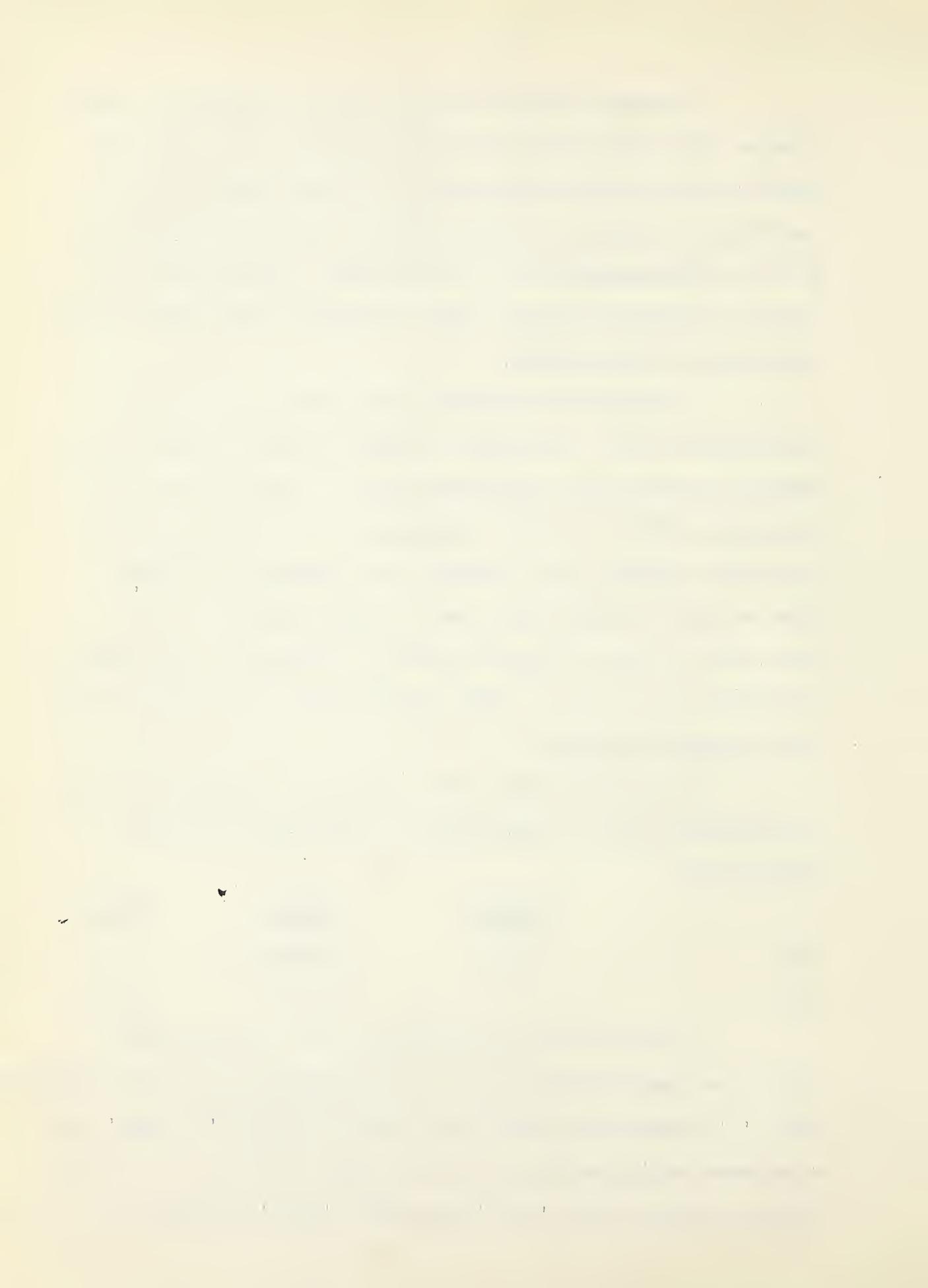
clearly velar fricatives.

4. <u>Laterals</u>. The lateral continuant [l] is in many languages
an unstable sound; we speak of a "dark" or "clear" [l]. For
the dark or velarized [ɫ] in this idiolect, the apex of the
tongue is turned up to touch the back of the teeth or gingival
region, the blade lies low, and the dorsum of the tongue is
raised towards the velum. Except for the raised apex, this
position is similar to that for [u].[8] This would account for
the difficulty in detecting an [ɫ] in [maᵁɫ] 'mouth'.

      For the clear [l], the blade is raised, the dorsum
lowered and the tongue root moved forward. It is now under-
standable why front vowels have the effect of producing a
clear [l] and back vowels a dark [ɫ]. The low front [a],
however, also produces velarization; this is because the
blade of the tongue is depressed for [ɫ] in anticipation of,
or as after effect of, that vowel. Similarly, under the
influence of [ə], the blade for producing [ɫ] will be in mid
position instead of raised. Just as the acoustic effect of
velarized [ɫ] is not far removed from [u], so some realizations
in this idiolect of the clear [l] were at first mistaken by the
investigator for [ð]. The main difference between the two
sounds results from lateral release as against apical or
laminal, because the volume of frictional sound in [ð] is low

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[8] H.H. Wängler. <u>Atlas deutscher Sprachlaute</u>
(Berlin, 1958), p. 32.

5. <u>Trills</u>. Another unstable sound in many languages is [r].
In this idiolect /r/ is basically an intermittent stop, i.e.
a trill, though frequently the apex of the tongue performs
only one or two of the vibratory cycles giving the allophone
[ɼ]. Other realizations do not resemble a trill at all.
These are fricatives, frictionless continuants or off-glides
produced as the articulators move in the direction necessary
for a fully trilled [ř], without reaching the end of those
movements. These allophones are specified later.

The instability of /r/ is demonstrated clearly by
its frequent zero allophone before consonants: /varm/ 'warm'
can be [ßɑ̣:m], /fort/'away' usually is [fɛ̃t], and many more
examples could be given.[9] Since a greater muscular exertion
is required for [ř] than for other speech sounds, an antici-
patory tensing of the vowel preceding is usually noticed,
even when the /r/ is not articulated, and a consonant follow-
ing /r/ in the same syllable in a cluster is frequently made
more fortis.

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[9] Another indication of the instability of /r/ is given by
three words which in Standard German end in /r/; these
are: /sɛlbət/ 'self' (German <u>selber</u>), /štopat/ 'stopper'
(German <u>Stopfer</u>) and /špaIxət/ 'loft' (German Speicher).
If we can assume a change to have occurred beginning [r]
and ending [t], then it may have been caused partly by
final devoicing and partly through the acoustic affinity
of [ɼ] and [t]. A related phenomenon is identification
by speakers of American English of British English [ɼ] as
in ['tɛ,ɼIbl̩] with [d].

D. CLUSTERS

When we examine the groups into which consonant clusters might fall, we notice two features related to their occurrence which help to classify them. First, it is seen that any one cluster is rarely observed both before and after the climax of its syllable.[10] We may, therefore, assign any one to a pre-climax or post-climax class. Our second division concerns all clusters; there are three possibilities: a cluster may be found (a) only within the boundaries of a syllable, (b) only straddling boundaries, (c) both entirely within, and elsewhere straddling boundaries. All clusters entered in the list will be grouped according to these two means of classification.[11]

Clusters have been given more space than is customary in such a study as this. The detail allows the reader to see at a glance what are the phonetic and positional peculiarities of any given cluster listed, and, to a lesser extent in a survey of this size, to estimate its frequency. Since certain clusters are typical of a certain language, it is important that the subject receive more than passing attention.

Although clusters are listed in this study in a similar way to the segmental phonemes, it is not to be thought that they are such. They are, of course, sequences of phonemes.

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[10] There is one exception in this idiolect: /št/.

[11] See pages 87-100.

The examples of clusters do not show every possible combination in the idiolect. Although certain parts of the questionnaire were devoted to eliciting words with specific clusters present, no effort was made to be exhaustive. Therefore, the examples illustrate to a large extent the commonest in occurrence. This means, furthermore, that freakish clusters resulting from the juxtaposition of independent lexemes have not been considered. It is worth noting, however, that in such cases there is a tendency to reduce some of the phonemes to zero; thus, /'drUftsu,sɛtsə/ 'for sitting on' becomes ['drUfsə,zɛtsə] and /,du'slɑfšt,nɔx/ 'you're still asleep (2nd pers. sing.) [,du'šlɒːfš,nɔx] and /va,rum'rɛdšt-,du,nIt/ 'why don't you speak? (2nd pers. sing.) becomes [,vɾUm'ř̆ɛdšt,ʔ,nĬt'].

Genuine double consonants do not occur in this idiolect, but we may observe what happens when by chance two identical phonemes are juxtaposed. /'varm,maxə/ 'to make warm' is such a case; the juncture between the two /m/'s is determined by the syllabic division: we have /+/ juncture. The first syllabic impulse finishes while an [m] is being produced, and the second impulse begins without a complete break in that production; phonetically we have [m+m]. An analogous situation occurs in /flašš̆naps/ 'bottle of "schnapps"'.

When two similar stops come together, we have a different set of circumstances. Let us consider /ɛr'haUt ,drUf/ 'he hits it'. Here the syllabic division again falls
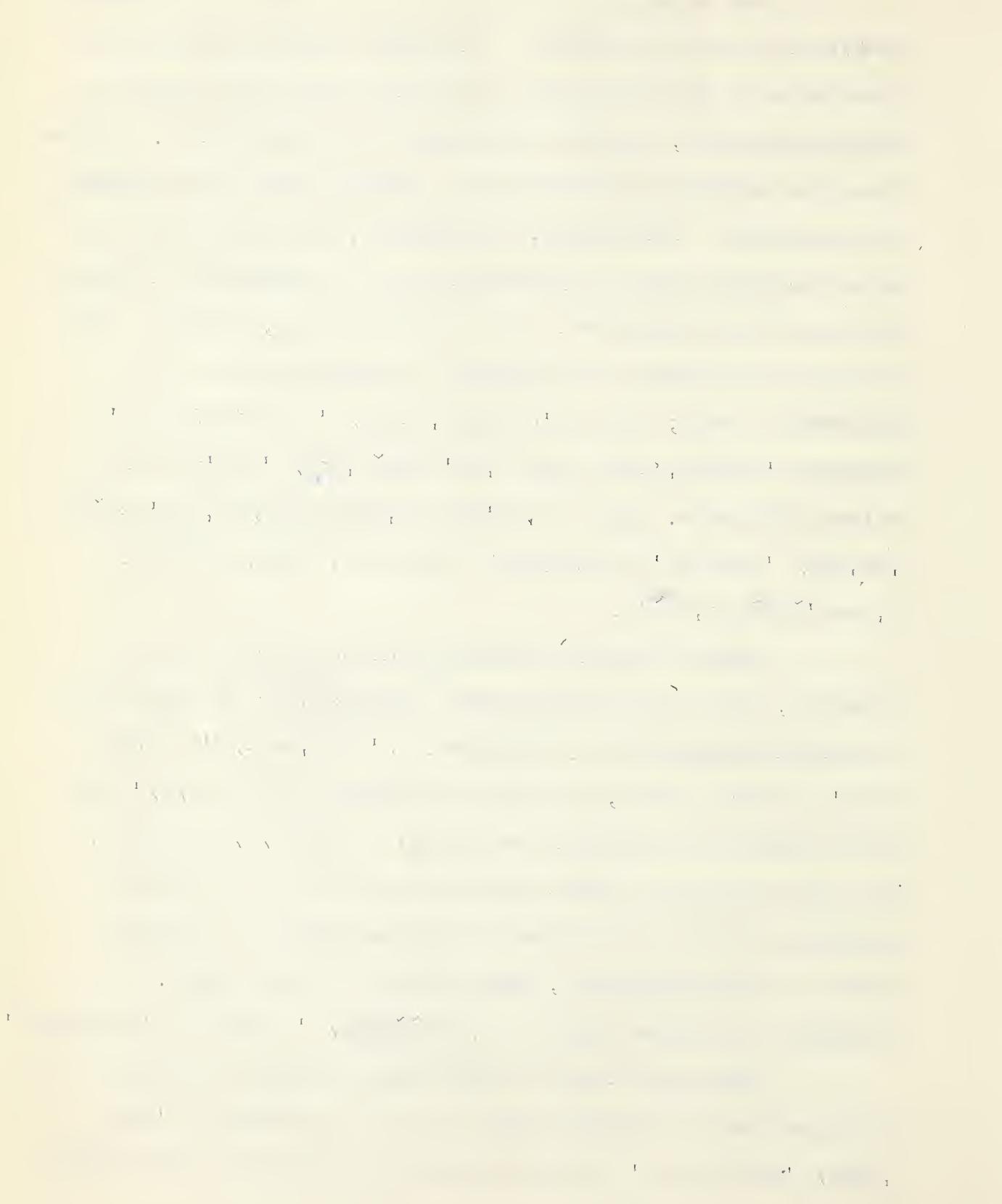
between the two phonemes in question, but the first is
realized not as a dental stop but as a glottal stop;
phonetically we have: [ˈhaᵁ?+ˌdrUf].

The neutralization of the contrast between initial
voiced and voiceless stops also holds for clusters.[12] Phone-
tically, /ˈgrUmˌberə/ 'potatoes' and /krUm/ 'ᵣcooked' have
initial clusters which do not differ materially from one
another.

Clusters beginning with /r/ are of frequent occur-
rence and may be presented in the following way: /r/ plus
voiceless stop. These clusters occur in one syllable after
the climax and also bridging two syllables. In the latter
case the stop is sometimes voiced.

/r/ plus voiced stop. These clusters occur bridging
two syllables.

/r/ plus affricate. These clusters occur in one
syllable after the climax and also bridging two syllables.

/r/ plus voiceless spirant. These clusters occur
in one syllable after the climax and also bridging two syllables.
In the latter case the spirant may be voiced.

/r/ plus voiced spirant. These clusters occur bridging
two syllables.

/r/ plus nasal. These clusters occur in one syllable
after the climax and also bridging two syllables.

/r/ plus lateral. Occurrence as with /r/ plus nasal.

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[12] This neutralization is discussed on pp 27-28.

In all these cases the muscular tension needed
for [ř] or [ɼ] affects the other member of the cluster,
unless the syllabic division falls between the two; the
effect is that of increasing tension to fortis.

The /r/ is realized as [ř], [ɼ], [r], [°.], [ə̥],
[ø]. Let us regard these values as representative of an
infinite number of possible realizations. Just as we may
divide a foot into twelve inches, the allophonic range of
/r/ is here divided into six parts. The allophones which
appear under emphasis resemble [ř] at one end of the scale;
the allophones which appear under no emphasis resemble the
vocalic or zero type. It should be noted, however, that
[ø] is rare after a long vowel, whereas the schwa realization
is common in this position.

E.g. /gɑrtə/ is usually [gɑ°tə] but

/fɔrt/ is usually [fɤ̌øt']

In cases where a stop or spirant precedes an /r/
in a cluster, there is no effect: /prɑIs/ is usually [b̰ɼɑᶼs]
/krants/ is usually [g̰ɼants] and so on. The stop remains
lenis.

In the list of words containing the phonemes /i/
and /I/ were certain cases where the allophones before [ř]
and [ɼ] were in lower mid-front position, [ɛ]. As we have
seen, the allophones of /r/ are frequently vocalic or zero.
When this happens in a word such as /vIrtshaUs/ 'inn', the
/I/ allophone is not [ɛ̬] but [I̤]. This applies not only to

lexemes containing clusters, but also /ir/ 'you' (formal)
and /mir/ 'we', which are either [ɛ̣:ř], [mɛ̣:ř] or [i̥:ə̣]
[mi̥:ə̣].

Where there is a zero allophone of /r/, it is usually
found that the vowel besides being tense, is also shorter than
normal. Thus, /fɔrt/ becomes [fĕt], /hart/ [hăt], /'vIrts-
ˌhaUs/ ['ßɨ̆ts ˌhaUs].

When voiceless stop or voiceless spirant phonemes
occur after /r/ in a cluster, they are less likely to be
voiced than in clusters with other voiced sounds. Hence,
there is a probability that, for instance, the contrast
/kɛrpər/ 'body': /kɛrbə/ 'baskets' will, in addition to the
final /r/, also have [p]:[b] or [ß].

E. PROSODY

1. Stress. The marking of stress is done in the following
manner: primary stress - the mark is above the line and pre-
cedes the syllable as in /fɛ'brɔx/ 'broken'; secondary stress -
the mark is below the line and precedes the syllable as in
/'naxtˌaIl/'night owl'; tertiary stress - the mark is omitted.

It should also be noted that /ə/ always occurs
under tertiary stress; therefore, in such cases as /maxə/ 'to
make', /plaUdərə/ 'to chat', there is no need to mark the
remaining syllable, because it must be primary. Every word
as a single utterance must have primary stress somewhere.

Several patterns of stress may be discerned. They
are listed below.

(a) A monosyllable as a single utterance has primary

stress, which is normally not indicated because this stress
invariably appears on such monosyllables.

        Examples: /švax/ 'weak', /fis/ 'feet'

              /ku/ 'cow', /bɛt/ 'bed'.

(b) A very common stress pattern is set up by two-
part compounds, the first element of which has adjectival
function and the second substantival. The compound has two
syllables, the first under primary, the second under secondary
stress, thus: '-----ˌ----.

        Examples: /'špɛkˌmaUs/ 'bat'; /'maˌve/ 'stomach ache'

              /'bUxˌsak/ 'satchel'; /'kuˌkalp/ 'female

              calf'; /'vIrtsˌhaUs/ 'inn'; /'šafˌkɔp/

              'idiot'; /'grapˌlɔx/ 'grave'.

Other compounds also have this pattern: /'urˌlaUp/ 'leave',
'furlough'; /'kUkˌrUᵗs/ 'corn on the cob'; /'ᵗsaIˌdUŋ/'newpaper'.

(c) An even more common pattern is primary followed
by tertiary stress, thus: '---- ----.

       Examples: /kIpəl/ 'top', 'peak'; /platsə/ 'to burst';

             /'švebIš/ 'Swabian' ; /mɛrxjə/ 'fairy story';

             /'fɛrtIx/ 'ready'; /mɛnər/ 'more'; /'honIx/

             'honey'; /plapərt/ 'chatters'.

(d) Let us now consider another type of compound, one
in which two elements are present and in which the first (as
in (b)) has adjectival force and the second substantival.
This time, the first element has two syllables like the entire
lexeme in (c); the second element has secondary stress as in
(b), thus: '---- ----ˌ----.

Examples: /ˈbrɛdər̗t̬sʊn/ 'wooden fence';

/ˈblankə̗t̬sʊn/ 'wooden fence'; /ˈkesə̗brot/

'cheese sandwich'; /ˈlebəns̗laʊf/ 'course

of life; /ˈabənt̗mɑl/ 'communion'.[13]

Other compounds are also represented: /ˈɛstə̗rɑIx/ 'Austria';

/ˈaʊsgə̗maxt/ 'put out' (past part.);/ˈmIsgə̗burt/ 'dwarf'.

(e) An extension of type (d) can be obtained, if the
second element has two syllables, like the first, thus:
ˈ---- ----̗---- ----.

Examples: /ˈblumən̗kaxəl/ 'flower pot';

/ˈkInər̗vačə/ 'to baby-sit'

(f) Another group of two-part compounds has the first
element consisting of one syllable under primary stress and
the second element of two syllables, the first under secondary,
the third under tertiary stress, thus ˈ----̗---- ----.

Examples: /ˈUm̗laʊfə/ 'to run around'; /ˈUf̗štaIə/

'to get up'; /ˈfort̗farə/ 'to drive away',

'leave'; /ˈvaIn̗traʊbə/ 'grapes'; /ˈšu̗maxər/

'shoemaker'; /ˈgrUm̗berə/ 'potatoes';

/ˈmɔI̗kebər/ 'maybug'; /ˈšraIp̗tabəl/ 'hand-

bag'.

(g) There is a futher group of words of three syllab-
les having the first under primary and the others under tertiary
stress, thus:ˈ---- ---- ----.

---

[13] Used only in the phrase: /ˈhaIlIgə ˈabənt̗mɑl/, lit. 'holy
supper'.

Examples: /plaUdərə/ 'to chat'; /rapələ/ 'to rattle'
/fakələ/ 'bunches of straw for roof making';
/hɪŋkəlxjə/ 'hen(s)' (dimin.); /hɛbəlxjə/
'cup'; /gUmərə/ 'gherkins'; /nUmərə/'numbers'
/prɛdIgər/ 'preacher'.

These seven groups illustrate a characteristic feature
of the stress of this idiolect (shared with Standard German),
namely: heavy stress precedes lighter stress.

In the following, examples are given where this
feature is not present.

(h) Past participles of verbs which do not begin with
/g/ or /k/ and of verbs having the prefix /fɛ/ have the stress
pattern: ----'----, i.e. the first syllable under tertiary
and the second under primary stress.

Examples: /gəšlɑf/ 'slept'; /gəvarnt/ 'warned';
/gəplatst/ 'burst'; /gətrʊmt/ 'dreamt';
/fɛbrɔx/ 'broken'; /fɛklɔpt/ 'battered'.

(i) Another group begins like (h) but adds another
syllable at the end under tertiary stress, thus ----'---- ----.

Examples: /gəšIxtə/ 'story';/tsəsamə/ 'together'
/gədɛnkə/ 'to remember'; /bəgrɑbə/'to bury'.

(j) A group of words of non-Germanic origin begin
with secondary stress, rise to primary and finish with tertiary,
thus: ˌ----'---- ----.

Examples: /ˌsɛp'tɛmbər/ 'September'; /ˌɔk'tobər/
'October'; /ˌno'vɛmbər/ 'November';
/ˌdɛtsɛmbər/'December'; /ˌfran'tsesIš/
'French'; /ˌkI'nesər/ 'Chinaman'.

(k) A smaller group is similar to (j) but lacks
the final syllable, thus ˌ----ˈ----.

Examples: /ˌfranˈʦos/'Frenchman'; /ˌaUˈgUšt/'August'

(l) Another small group shows the pattern:
ˌ---- ----ˈ---- ----.

Examples: /ˌgɛləˈribə/'carrots'; /ˌkɔləˈrabə/'turnips'.

(m) Finally, two examples found, had unique stress
patterns: /ˌaUgənˈblIk/ 'moment' and /gƌsUntˌhaIt/ 'health'.
We may note, however, that the former was not used but under-
stood by the informant, while the latter usually loses the
first syllable when realized: [ˈksUnˌdñaᶦt] (cf. type (b)).

Groups (j)-(m) are characterized by foreign words
or few examples, so that we must regard secondary stress in
initial position as atypical. The majority of words begin
with primary stress,and an important minor group has the first
syllable as a prefix with tertiary stress.

No indication was found that a change in stress could
change the meaning of an utterance in anything but emphasis.[14]

---

[14] In Standard German stress change can alter meaning. Such
pairs of words as /ˌvidərˈholən/ 'to repeat' and
/ˈvidərˌholən/ 'to bring back' demonstrate this. The
writer searched in vain for such distinctions in the
idiolect under examination.

2. Intonation. Intonation is capable of changing the meaning of an utterance and is regarded as phonemic, but we should keep in mind that the word meaning has a broad semantic spread. When we speak of an exchange of phonemes in a minimal pair bringing about a change of meaning, we normally understand that the referend or dictionary definition of the one will not suit the other.

An example to demonstrate that a change of intonation can produce this kind of change in meaning is the following pair of sentences:

Where^3 are you going next year^1, Virginia^1^{1}?

and

Where^3 are you going next year^1? Virginia^1^{3}?

Even here it is likely that in the second sentence a bigger break will occur before Virginia, but this is not vital to convey the required sense. Although no such pair of sentences was recorded in our idiolect, there is no doubt that intonation could be made to function in the same way.

We must accept, however, that intonation normally indicates the attitude of the speaker to his topic, or, for example, whether he is making a statement or asking for information.

All that the present examination undertakes is to set out the commonest patterns and indicate what the hearer is thereby given to understand.

Opinions differ as to the number of pitch levels necessary adequately to record the infinite variation of the voice.

For present purposes we shall adhere generally to the three level system. It is sometimes necessary to posit a very high level, pitch level four, which is concerned with expression of greater emotion or emphasis. In addition, where necessary, intermediate levels will be indicated by the use of plus signs.[15]

Terminal contours will be indicated by numerals denoting change in pitch level.

Sentence stress will be shown on the same line as the intonation. The symbol /ˊ/ indicates the main sentence stress at the centre of intonation as well as the next most prominent syllable; /ˋ/ indicates the third most prominent. Each macrosegment will have at least one syllable marked /ˋ/. If other syllables are by comparison insignificantly emphasized, no stress symbol is placed on them.

The division of one macrosegment from another is marked by the symbol /|/, which appears in the same line as the intonation.

In phonetic or phonemic transcription /|/ denotes a slight pause in speech, while /||/ is used for a longer break.

---

[15] There is no confusion here with the symbol used for open juncture, +, because the two always appear in different contexts. One is always preceded by a pitch level numeral; the other appears in phonetic or phonemic transcription.

Common stress patterns are as follows:

(a)   An utterance with no particular element emphasized has an arch-like intonation: the pitch rises and falls. Thus to a question about a pencil lying on a chair, the informant answered:

```
  2    3   3  3   1
/ɛr laIt Uf dɛm štul/
```
'It is lying on the chair'

Or to a question about a hen:

```
  2     3  3   2   1
/das hIŋkəl let ɔIə/
```
'The hen lays eggs'

Or describing what a teacher does to lazy pupils:

```
  2    3    2
/ɛr haUt si/
```
'He beats them'

(b)   Above we have an example which takes us on to a selective function of intonation: /haUt/ 'beats' is not only at the climax of intonation, but is also the kernel of the message. In any utterance, a particular element may be emphasized by making it occur at a climax of intonation(/anəršt/'differently').

```
  1 1   2 1     1 1    1 1
/ɛs mUs anəršt gəmaxt vɛrdə/
```
'It must be done differently'

If into the normal rise and fall of an utterance with no emphasis outside its own key word we insert another climax, we automatically pin-point the hearer's attention on this. In the following sentence, /vaIs/ 'know' is the key word in the unemphatic utterance; /aləs/ 'everything' is
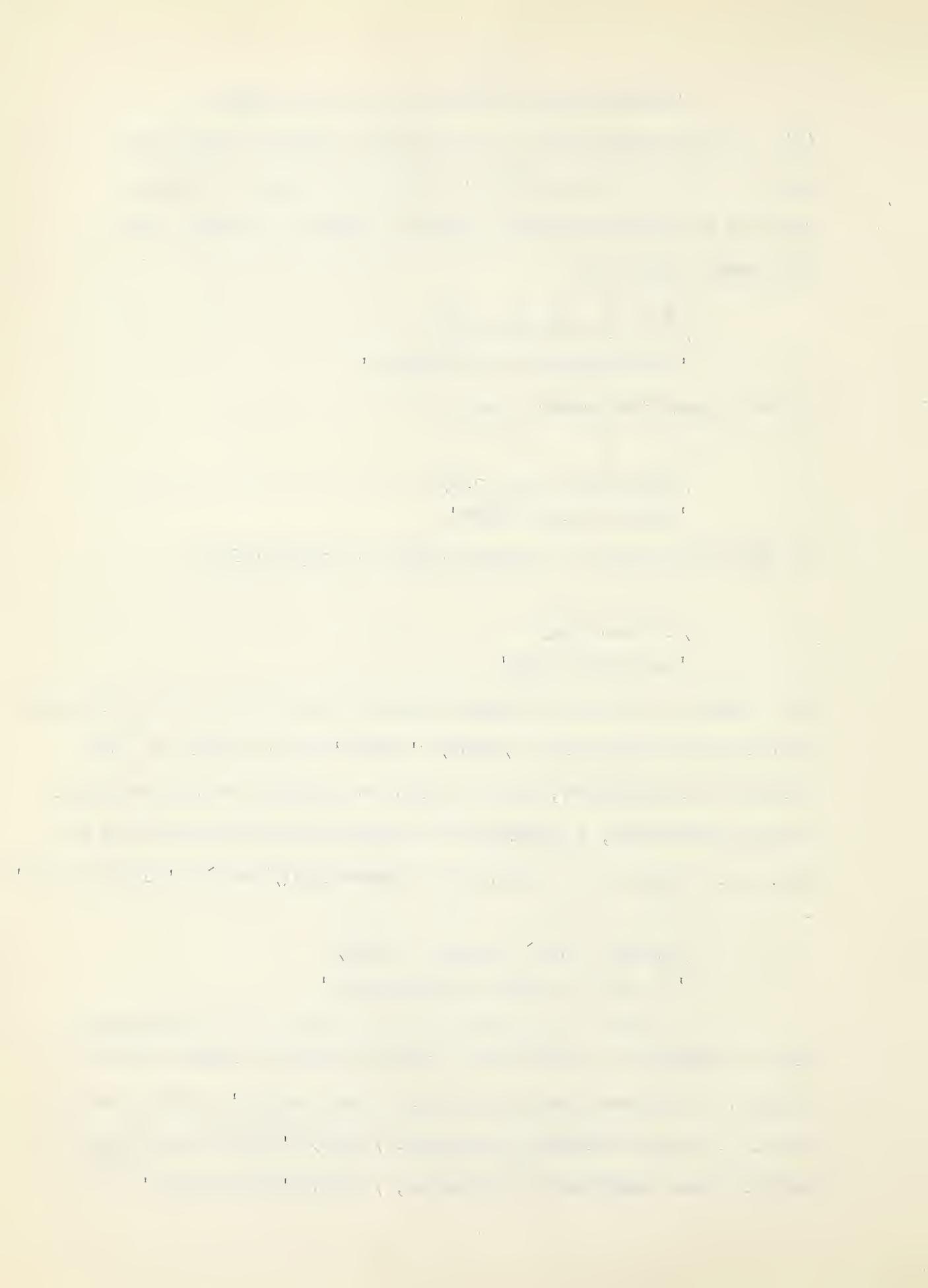
the recipient of the second climax:

       ´   \ ´
1   2   1 2 1

/Ix vɑIs nIt aləs/

'I don't know everything'

Analogous is the function of the intonation in the following

sentences:

       ´   ´   \
2 3   2   3   1

/Ix krik kɑI lUft nIt/

'I get no air' (i.e. I find difficulty in breathing)

2   3   2 2 2 2 31

/dɛr vɔlf sItst In sɑInər hel/

'The wolf sits in his lair'

(Here we see a drop over a large range on one syllable).

(c) Although an 'arch' of intonation is basic to statement

utterances, the climax of intonation does not fall at random

at any spot, but on the key word, so that the important ele-

ment is accented. If the same word is picked out for special

emphasis, then the rise and fall of pitch will be greater than

normal.

The following utterance needs at least four pitch

levels if we are to indicate the greater range of pitch it

possesses over others, although three would be sufficient to

indicate all but the intensity of the meaning. The informant

relates how a woman once asked her how her potatoes were

growing, but used a term for <u>potato</u> unknown to informant.

The latter replied, therefore, that she had none, to which

the response was:

```
 ´   `    ´      ´    ´
41|2   3    2 | 2   3   1
/jɑ ir hapt jɑ | Im gɑrtə/
```

'Yes you certainly have...in the garden.'

(d) In the following sentences three pitch levels are suf-
ficient. When the climax falls on something other than a
noun, pronoun or verb (i.e. possible key words in any
utterance), then the hearer has no doubt as to the emphasis.

```
       ´       ´       `
2      2   2  ˌ2   3 2   2 21
/dɛr blaŋk Is šon vIdər gəbrɔx/
```

'The fence board is broken again'

The emphasis is on /vIdər/ 'again'.

```
   `            ´           ´
2   2   2  ˌ2   3   2 2   2 21
/Ix hɑn dIx šon laŋ nIme gəsin/
```

'I haven't seen you for a long time'

(e) In the following sentences, the climax falls on a noun,
which besides being a key word, receives emphasis also on
account of its importance in answering the questions put to
the informant. The three-level system is inadequate to show
this, but the greater rise to the climax would be evident to
a hearer. At the same time the pitch does not range so widely
as in the /jɑ/, for which we postulated a fourth level.

```
  ´         ´
2   2   2  3+1
/das Is ə bUx/
```

'That's a book'

```
  `      ˇ   ´       ´
2   2 2   3+   2 2   2
/si maxən špas ibərdas/
```

'They joke about it'

```
  ´                  ´
2   2   2   ˌ2   ˌkar'tɔfəln
/das sin di ˌkar'tɔfəln/
```
3+1

'They are potatoes'

This last example illustrates that when a polysyllable takes

the climax of intonation that climax occurs on its syllable
with primary stress.

(f) Past participles and infinitives often take a climax:

<div style="text-align:center">

2 2   2 2   2 2 2 31
/ˌfiˈlaIxt hat ɛr t̮su laŋ gəšlɑf/
'Perhaps he slept too long'

</div>

In the following sentence, the sense required that /aUx/
'also' be emphasized; there is an infinitive in final position,
at which the pitch is not so high as at /aUx/.

<div style="text-align:center">

2 2 3+ 2 2 3 1
/Ix kan aUx nIx gut šnaUfə/
'I can't breathe well, either'

</div>

(g) Up to now we have considered the selective function of
intonation; this is one way in which the speaker expresses
his feelings about his topic. The following sentences illus-
trate how a falling intonation expresses lack of interest or
displeasure:

<div style="text-align:center">

3 2 2 2 2 1 1
/Ix hɑn das nɛt gəglIx haIt/
'I didn't like that today'

3 2 2 1 | 3 2 2 2 2 1 1
/Ix bIn šon mit| Ix glɑIx ˌnIˈme t̮su gUkə/
'I'm tired. I don't want to look anymore'

</div>

If, instead of the fall at the end of the utterance,
the voice is raised, this destroys the air of finality and
leaves an impression of uncertainty:

<div style="text-align:center">

2 2 3 2 3
/das kan ˈmeglIx sIn/
'That might be true'

</div>

(h) The 'arch' which is basic to all these intonation patterns has had its turning point higher in pitch than its extremities.

There is one recorded example of an inverted-arch intonation for a statement:

```
1    2   2 2   2 3́ 3̀   2    2   1   2    1 2    2 2+
/Unt dan haben mir Unəɣ gants In das lɔx  faIər gəmaxt/
'...and then we made a fire right down in the hole
```

Something like the inverted-arch intonation is found in each item of a list. For example, the informant was asked to give some boys' and girls' names:

```
      1 2  |   1 2  |   1 2
/'a̯dam     pedər     'johan/
```

(i) Where we normally find an inverted arch, is in commands:

```
      3    2    3  | 2   1   2    3 1
/gen mal raUs | In di frIs lUft/
'Just go outside...into the fresh air'

      2    2   1 3  | 2   2    2    3 1
/štaI mal šon Uf | ɛs is halp axtə/
'Get up'          'It's half past seven'

    2 2  2    2  2 3  2    3 1
/maxən aIx mal ə bIsxjə kalt/
'Gǫ and cool yourselves off a little'
```

Except in the command, closely followed by an explanatory sentence (It's half past seven), or by an enlargement of the command (into the fresh air), the last syllable of high pitch contains a sharp drop also. This is in keeping with the function of a final pitch drop in indicating finality.

A command of a more imperious nature has a steadily falling intonation but does not cover as wide a

range as that for indicating lack of interest; also, the pace
of the utterance is more decided and forceful.

<pre>
      ´   ´   `   ´   ´
   3   3 3   2 2   2 | 3   2
   /hɛlf ə bIsxjə nɔx dɑ | šlɑfnɛt/
</pre>
   'Help a bit, there!   Don't sleep!

(j) We can often put into the grammatical form of a question
an expression of disapproval, for instance, in which case the
intonation will express disapproval and not interrogation.
"What do you think you're doing?" demands an apology rather
than a concise description of an activity. Thus, the following
utterance, grammatically a question, does not have question
intonation, but that of a statement.

<pre>
    ´   ´   `
   2   3 2   2 2 1 1
   /vas plaUdəršt du dɑ vIdər/
</pre>
   'What are you talking about over there?'

(k) The genuine question intonation is of two types:

    (i) in questions requiring an answer yes or no

    (ii) in questions requiring more detailed information.

        For (i) the intonation rises at the end of the
utterance:

<pre>
     ´   ´   `
    2   2   �‌3
   /so maInšt du/
</pre>
   'Is that what you mean?

<pre>
    `   ´   ´
   1 2   2   2 33
   /kɛnt ɛr das fɛšteə/
</pre>
   'Can you understand that?'

<pre>
    ´   `       ´     `
   2   2   2 2   32 | 23
   /haIt vars 'tsImlIx gut nIt/
</pre>
   'It was pretty good today, wasn't it?'

For (ii) the intonation rises and falls at the end
of the utterance; it may begin with a slight drop:

```
2+  2   2      2  2  2 2   3 2
/vi láŋ sɔlst du das Imər némə/
```

'How long are you going to be taking this?

```
  2  2  ʃ 2|2+  2   2  2   2    3 2
/ˌKáta'rina vi sIn baI aIx di knUlən/¹⁵
```

'Katherine, how are your potatoes coming on?'

```
 2   2  32
/vem saI bu/
```

'Whose boy?'

(1) Lastly, examples of utterances which fall into two sections.
The intonation rises before the break.

```
 2   2    3   2 2   2 3 | 2 2   2   2  3   2 2
/vɛn mir brot habən gəbakt | habən mir ə kĭč  gəbraIxt/
```

'When we baked bread, we used a "kitsch".

```
 2̌   2  2   3  ̌| 2  2  2   3  1
/vɛn du mir hɛlfšt | dan Is ɛs bɛssər/
```

'If you help me   it'll be better"

```
 2  3 | 1   1    1   2 1
/her Uf | du kanst nIx farə/
```

'Stop!   you can't drive'

3. <u>Juncture</u>. When we examine an utterance of more than a few
syllables, we are bound to notice that the transition between
the segmental phonemes varies. Hocket illustrates this ex-
cellently with the pair <u>night rates</u> and <u>nitrates</u>.¹⁶ The /t/

---

¹⁵ The usual term for <u>potatoes</u> is /'grUmˌberə/

¹⁶ Charles F. Hockett, <u>A Course in Modern Linguistics</u>
   (New York, 1958) pp. 54-55.

and /r/ of the former are said to stand in "open juncture".
Since we have a change of referend, juncture is phonemic in
English.

Juncture is either open or close. Therefore, if we
have a symbol for the one, the other can be taken as under-
stood. The commoner of the two is close, so let us symbolize
the open type with the customary /+/.

A good example showing a change of juncture bring
about a change of meaning was not found in the present idio-
lect, but let us consider the term /ˈvɑɪˌnaxtə/ 'Christmas'.
This has /+/ between /ɑɪ/ and /n/. If we instead place /+/
between /n/ and /a/, we obtain the meaningless sequence of
lexemes /vɑɪn/ 'wine' and /axtə/ 'eight'.

An interesting point is raised by the following
pair: (a) /ɛr tut sɑɪ ʃʊk krigə/ 'He is getting his shoe' and
(b) /ɛr tut sɑɪ sʊk rixə/ 'He is smelling his shoe'. The /g/
of (a) is likely to be [j] and the /x/ of (b) to be [ç], but
both phonemes in this position are recorded as [ɟ]; further-
more, final unreleased stops appear to be glottalized. We
may, then, have the following realizations:

(a) [ɛ dut sɑ⟂ ʃʊk̚k̶ɪ^iɟ̇ə]
(b) [ɛ dut sɑ⟂ ʃʊk̚k̶ɪ^iɟ̇ə]

In spite of the prolonged [k]-articulation inevitable
in (a), the distribution of /+/ is of paramount importance in
the acoustic distinction between (a) and (b). What is note-
worthy is that /+/ is brought about by a glottal stop which
we must, then regard as an allophone of /+/, which we shall

symbolize as [ʔ̩]. We have a similar case in the example
already discussed: /ɛr haUt drUf/ [ɛ ha^Ut̩ʔ̩drɛUf] 'he hits it'.
Further examples are: /dɑ nɛmt man ə mɛsər/ 'then you take a
knife', [dɑ nɛm̩ʔ man ə mɛsər]; also /ix hɑn das nɛt gəglIx
haIt/ 'I didn't like it today' [I^ç hɑn das nɛ t̩ʔ̩gəglIx hɑ^et̩'].
In all these cases a voiceless stop phoneme precedes the /+/
realized as /+̩ʔ̩/. This appears to be a regular feature of the
idiolect.

The glottal stop functions as a variant of /+/ also before
vowels. For example: /mɑI a/ 'my eyes' [mɑ^{Iʔ}+̩a>^ə]; /ix kan
aUx nit gut šna^Ufə/ 'I can't breathe well either'. [iç kan+̩aʔ̌^U
nIt gut šna^Ufə]; /UnIx dɛm altə hun/ 'under the old hen'
['UnIç dm̩ʔ̩+aldə hu:ən]; /In dɛr altə 'kan,tri/ 'in the Old
Country' [In dəʔaldə 'kan,tɾi].

On other occasions /+/ is a break or drop in speech
production: [+], which (like [+̩ʔ̩]) occurs typically at a sylla-
bic division. In /tɔxtər/ 'daughter', there is /+/ between
/x/ and /t/; in /naxt/ 'night' there is close juncture. In
/,frIš 'lUft/ 'fresh air' there is /+/ between /š/ and /l/,
whereas in /šlɑf/ 'sleep' (noun) there is again close juncture.

Up to now we have spoken only of juncture between
syllables either with primary or with secondary stress. Let
us now consider combinations involving tertiary stress. In
such cases it is often more difficult to judge what kind of
juncture is present.

(a) Between syllables in which schwa is juxtaposed
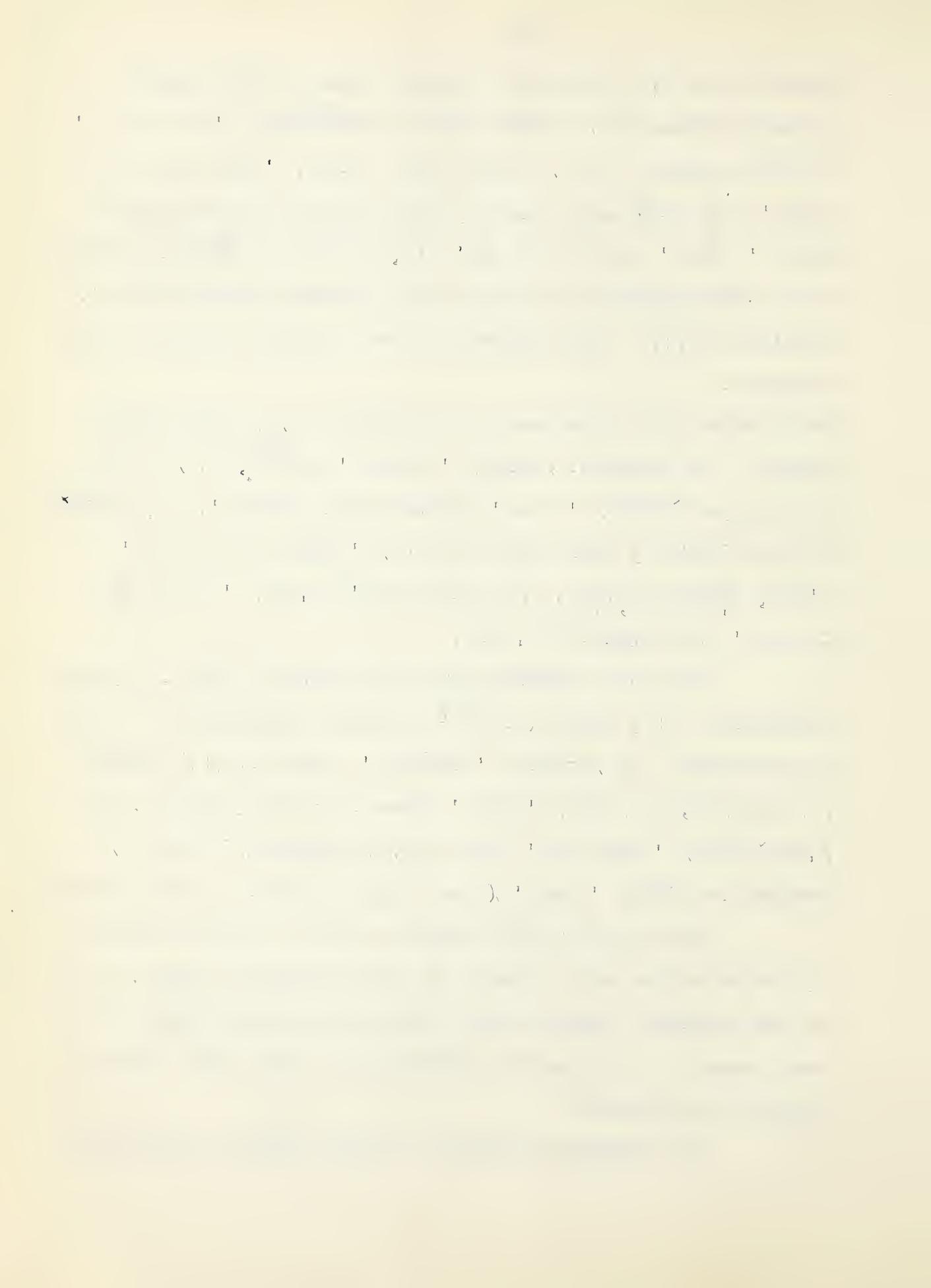
with a consonant, which is in a syllable under primary or
secondary stress. Juncture: close.

Example: /hat ɛr t̸su laŋ gəšlɑf/ 'he slept too long' [had
ətsə laŋ gəšlɑ:f]. The [d] and [ə] and the [ə] and [l] have
close juncture.

(b) Between a syllable under primary or seconary
stress ending in a consonant, and a syllable under tertiary
stress beginning with a consonant. Juncture: usually open.

Examples: /ə kIč gəbrɑIxt/ 'used a 'kitsch''. The juncture
between /č/ and /g/ is open. /vem sɑI bu/ 'whose boy?'
[ve:m za͵bu:ə]. The juncture between /m/ and /z/ is open.
/ɔštərə/ 'Easter'. The juncture between /š/ and /t/ is
doubtful. These segments belong to different syllables which
suggest /+/, but to the ear there appears to be no junctural
discrepancy between /ɔštərə/ and /pɔšt/ 'post'(office) which
is one syllable and therefore must have close juncture. Hence,
we conclude that /ɔštərə/ also has close juncture.

(c) Between tertiary stresses bringing a schwa into
juxtaposition with a consonant. Juncture: close.

Examples: /rapələ/ 'to rattle'; /plaUdərə/ 'to talk'. The
consonants between the schwas are in close juncture.

/hɑt ɛr t̸su laŋ gəšlɑf/ 'slept too long' [hadət̸salaŋ
gəšlɑ·f]. The affricate [t̸s] is in close juncture on either
side.

(d) Between tertiary stresses bringing consonants
into juxtaposition. Juncture: difficult to judge; probably
varies.

Examples: /'plaUdəršt du/ 'Are you talking?' (2nd pers.sing.)
[blaᵁd̬əršdə]. Comparing the juncture of [š] and [d] with that
in [šdꞷ] 'stone', one hears a more open juncture in the former.
Hence, we conclude that /+/ is present in [blaᵁd̬əršdə].
/anəršt gəmaxt/ 'done differently' [anəršgəmaxt]. There is
doubt as to the juncture between [š] and [g] which cannot be
clarified by reference to a word in which [šg] appears in one
syllable, because no such word has been recorded. It is probably
/+/. /In di ˌfrIš'lUft/ 'into the fresh air'. If we compare
the juncture between /n/ and /d/ in the example with that in
English <u>end</u>, there is no obvious difference. Because <u>end</u> is
monosyllabic, its last two consonants must be in close juncture.
Hence we conclude that /n/ and /d/ in /Indi/ are also in close
juncture.

F. TABLE OF PHONEMES

1. <u>Vowels</u>

	i			u
	ɪ			ʊ
	e			
			ə	o
	ɛ			
			ɔ	ω̦
	a			
			ɑ	

2. <u>Diphthongs</u>

aʊ   aɪ   ɔɪ

3. <u>Consonants</u>

	Bilab.	Lab.-Den.	Alveol.	Pal.-Alv.	Velar	Pharg.
stops	p b		t d		k g	
affricates			t̵s̵	č		
spirants		f v	s	š	x	h
nasals	m		n		ŋ	
laterals			l			
trills			r			

4. <u>Supra-segmental phonemes</u>

   (a) Stress: /ˈ/, /ˌ/, /´/, /`/.

   (b) Intonation: /1/, /2/, /3/, /4/

   (c) Juncture: /+/.

5. <u>Nasalization</u> /ˌ/.

G. LIST OF PHONEMES AND ALLOPHONES[17]

All the following description refers to the forms found occurring as single utterances or under emphasis, unless otherwise stated. When these forms occur in unemphasized positions, changes are likely to take place. The changes are discussed above (p. 21.).

1. Vowels and diphthongs

/i/ This high front vowel occurs in all positions. Longer and laxer than /I/.

[I^į:] Beginning from a lower high front position, this allophone decreases in tension and increases in height.

/glidər/ 'limbs'; /tsigəl/ 'tiles'; /firə/ 'four' /brif/ 'letter'; /gisə/ 'pour'; /rixə/ 'to smell' /krigə/'to get'; /mit/ 'tired'; /papiə/ 'paper'; /liə/ 'to tell lies'; /fligə/ 'to fly'; /bibəl/ 'Bible'; /ist/ 'east'.

[I^į:ə] As above, but with a final offglide.

/fis/ 'feet'; /štrigəl/ 'curry comb'; /sit/ 'south'; /fil/ 'much'; '/mi/ 'trouble','hardship'; /knin/ (we) 'kneel'.

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[17] In the margin between oblique strokes //, is shown the phoneme; in square brackets to the right of the margin are phonetic symbols indicating typical realizations of the phoneme.

In the examples where the stress pattern is obvious, stress marks have been omitted, e.g. /rixə/ must have the first syllable with primary stress and the second with tertiary, because every word as a single utterance will have primary stress on one of its syllables, and because the schwa may only take tertiary stress.

[I^ɣ̜:] Same as above but becoming rounded in assimilation
to the following [ß], a bilabial voiced spirant.
/ibə/ 'to practise','over'; /ˌdaˈdribə/ 'over there';
/ˌgɛləˈribə/ 'carrots'; /ˈhibən Unt ˈdribən/ 'here and
there';[18]

[ȩ:]~[i̦:] Lower mid, tense long varying with high front.
The first allophone occurs before [ř] or [ɟ], the
second before [r̩] or vocalic realizations of /r/.
/ir/ 'you' (formal address); /mir/ 'we'.
In the following only [ȩ:] [ɛ:] was recorded. The
first allophone occurs before [ř] or [ɟ]; the
second before [r] or vocalic realizations of /r/.
/tir/ 'door'; /šmirə/ 'to spread' /naˈtirlIx/ 'of course'.

[i̦] High front, lax.
/ˈjuli/ 'July';/ˈjuˌni/ 'June'; /ˈkanˌtri/ 'country'.

/I/   This lower high front vowel does not occur finally.
Shorter and tenser than /i/

[I̦]~[I̦]~[ɨ̆] The shorter allophone occurs before voiceless
stops.
/sIfər/ 'heavy drinker'; /sIbə/ 'seven'; /šIdə/ 'to pour';
/gəˈšIxtə/ 'story'; /ˈhIbəl/ 'hill'; /kIpəl/ 'peak','top';
/ˈmIlIx/ 'milk'; /kInər/ 'children'; /UnIx/ 'under';
/Is/ 'is'; /krIk/ 'jugs'; /bInə/ 'to tie'; /In/ 'in'.

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[18] Realized as [ˈhI^ybm̩n̩ ˈdrI^ybm̩].
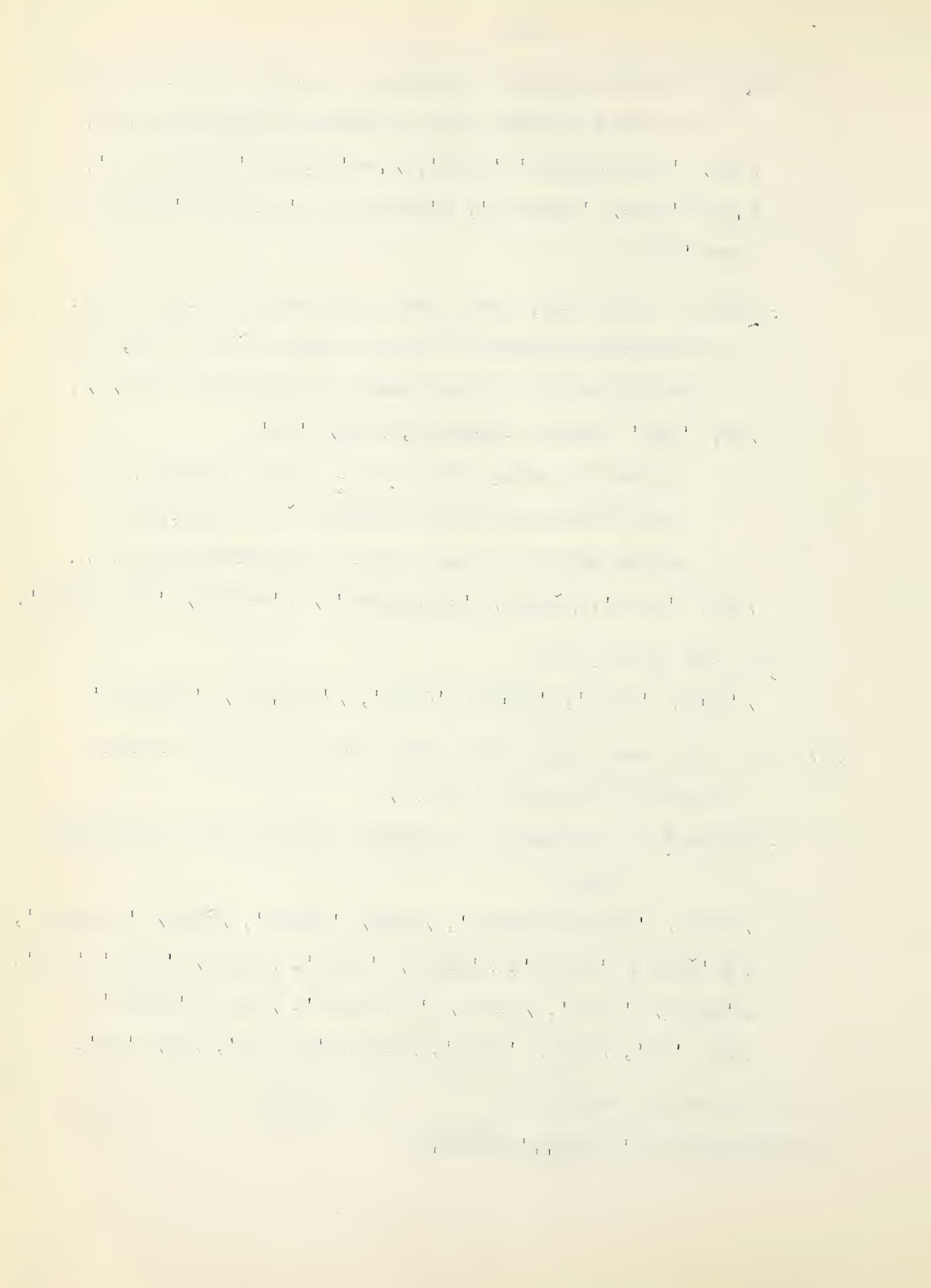
[Y]~[ɨ^Y] A rounded allophone is sometimes caused by a partial assimilation to a following bilabial stop or spirant. This allophone is also somewhat centralized.

/šĭp/ 'shovel'; /tsvIbələ/ 'onions'.

[ɛ]~[I] Lower mid, tense, normal length. Occurs as an allophone of /I/ before [ř] or [ɽ].[19]

/kIrx/ 'church'; /'fIrtsIx/ 'forty'; /'vIrts,haUs/ 'inn'; /bIršt/ 'brush' (noun); /bIrštə/ 'to brush'; /gəhIrn/ 'brain'; /kIrš/ 'cherry'.

/e/ This higher mid front vowel occurs in all positions. Laxer and longer than /ɛ/.

[ę:]~[ę:ə]~[ę:^]~[ę:^ə] The mainly random variation in the realization of this phoneme is between a maximum and minimum of tongue height: [e] [ɛ^]; and also between the presence and absence of an off-glide. However, the offglide is observed much more frequently in monosyllables than in poly-syllabic words.

/bes/ 'bad','wicked'; /kes/ 'cheese'; /negəl/ 'nails'; /ve/ 'pain'; /lep/ 'lion'; /'špet,jɑr/ 'autumn'; /fə'tselə/ 'to tell','relate'; /el/ 'oil'; /'brɛdə,tsʌn/

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[19] See page 40 for discussion of allophone before non-trilled realizations of /r/. In these examples, only /'vIrts,haUs/ was ever recorded without [ř] or [ɽ], and hence is the only example with the allophone [I].
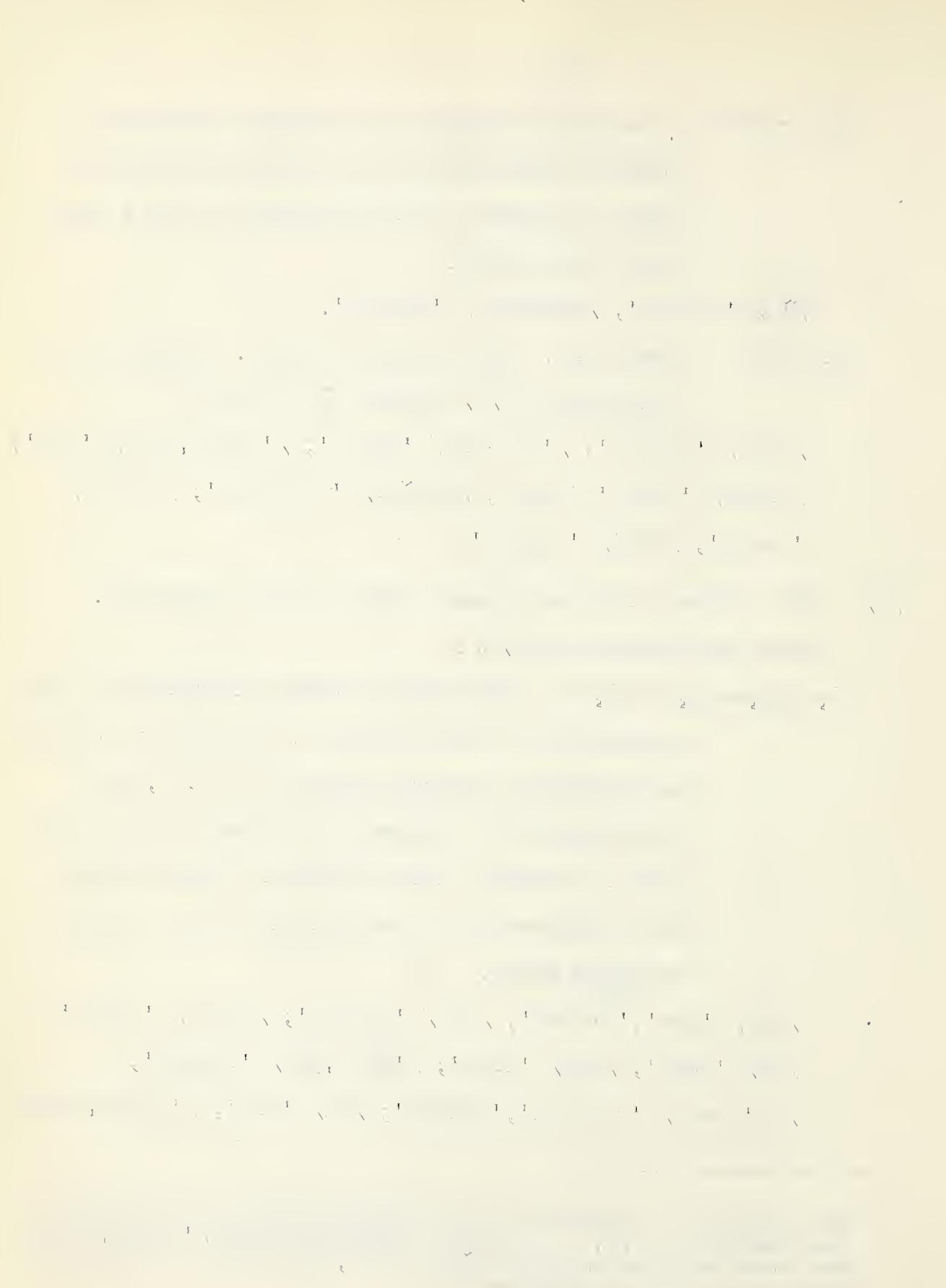
'wooden fence'; /let/ 'lays'; /'šve,bIš/ 'Swabian';

/klevǝ/ 'to stick'; /'evIx/ 'eternally'; /'knebǝl/ 'club',

'cudgel'; /štelǝ/ 'to steal'; /šver/ 'heavy','difficult';

/'predIx/ 'sermon'; /tse/ 'tough', 'toe'.

With nasalization:

/tse̜/ 'teeth'.

/ɛ/   This lower mid front vowel does not occur finally.
Shorter and tenser than /e/.

   [ɛ̣]~[ɛ̜]~[ɛ̌ˑ] The shorter and retracted allophone occurs
before /p/.[20] The laxer allophone occurs before
nasals and laterals.

    /ɛš/ 'ashes'; /sɛksǝ/ 'six'; /fɛlt/ 'field'; /šɛnǝ/ 'to
scold'; /vɛšǝ/ 'to wash'; /ɛlfǝ/ 'eleven'; /štɛmps/
'stamps' (postage); /'predIgǝr/ 'preacher'; /ɛpǝl/ 'apples';
/tɛp/ 'pots'; /šɛp/ 'crooked'; /šɛpǝ/ 'to shovel';
/kɛp/ 'heads'.

  [e^]~[ɛˇ]. An allophone slightly lowered by a following
[ř] or [ɼ] to a tongue height between lower-mid
and higher-low.

    /šɛrbǝl/ 'piece of broken glass or pottery','shard';
/mɛrts/ 'March'; /gɛršt/ 'barley'; /kɛrpxjǝ/ 'little
basket'; /vɛrfǝ/ 'to throw'; /šɛrfǝ/ 'to sharpen';
/kɛrl/ 'fellow','chap'; /ɛrpsǝ/ 'peas'; /kɛrbǝs/
'pumpkin'.

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[20] See discussion of length on p. 20.
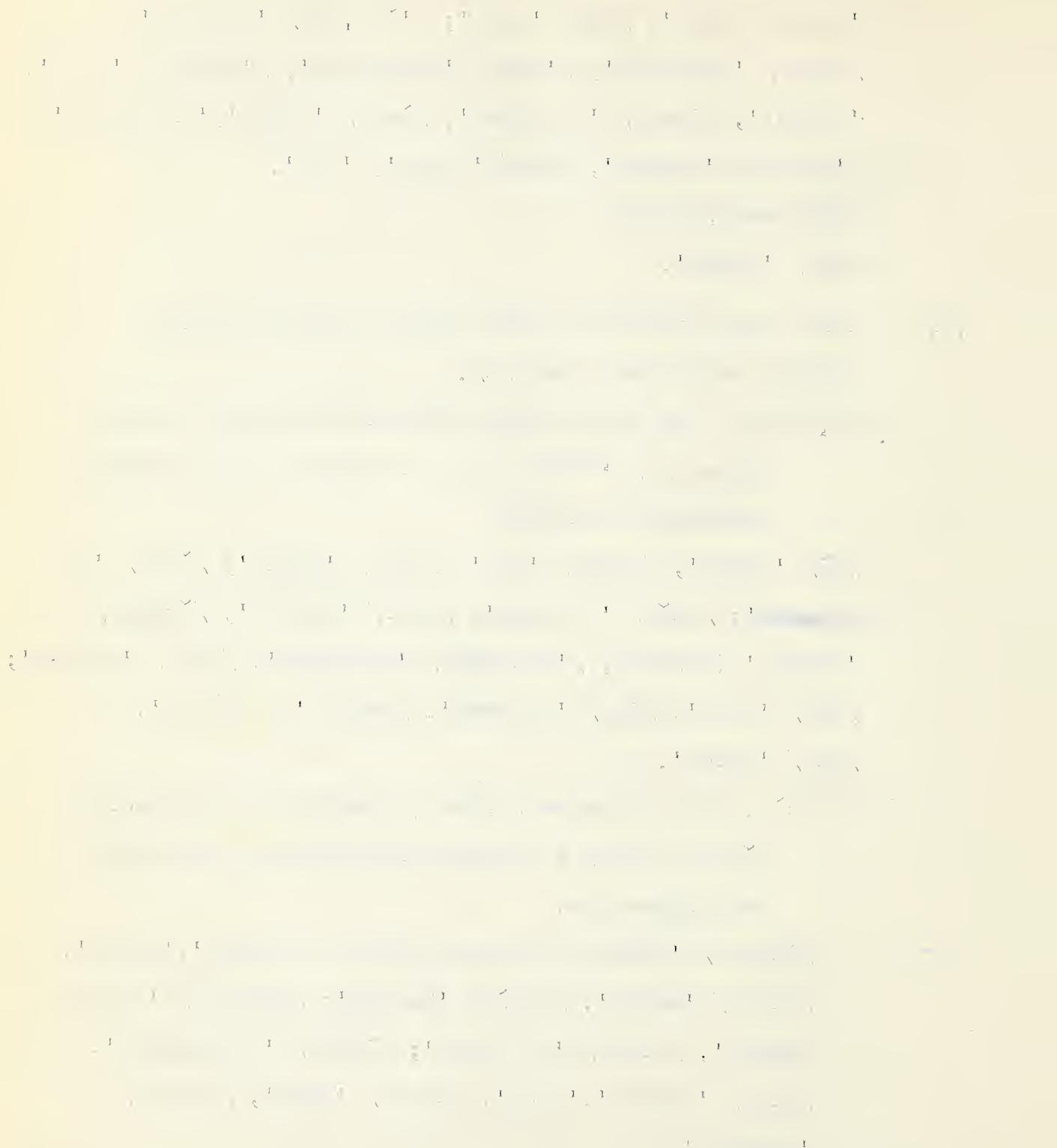
/a/ This lower front vowel does not occur finally. Tenser
and shorter than /e/.

[a]~[ă] The shorter allophone occurs before /r/ plus
voiceless consonant.[21]

/vasər/ 'water'; /saxə/ 'affair';'business'; /salts/
'salt'; /axtə/ 'eight'; /bax/ 'river'; /habər/ 'oats';
/habə/ 'saucepan'; /alə/ 'all' /samlə/ 'to collect';
/'bUx,sak/ 'satchel'; /armə/ 'arm'(dat.); /laxə/ 'to
laugh'; /karə/ 'car'; /maxə/ 'to make'; /štark/ 'strong';
/hart/'hard'.

/ɔ/ This higher low advanced back vowel does not occur
finally. Tenser and shorter than /ɑ/. Slightly rounded.

[ɔ]~[ɔ̆] The shorter allophone occurs before voiceless
consonants.[22]

/vɔl/ 'wool'; /knɔxə/ 'bones'; /rɔgən/ 'rye'; /nɔx/
'still','yet'; /ɔks/ 'ox'; /dɔktər/ 'doctor'; /'plat,kɔp/
'bald head'; /klɔpə/ 'to beat','knock'; /štɔpət/ 'stop-
per'.

[ɐ̆]~[ɔ̆<] low advanced central varying with low retracted
central. The vowel is tenser and shorter than
[ɔ] and appears before /št/ and /r/ consonant.

/pɔšt/ 'post'(office); /mɔšt/ 'cider'; /ɔštərə/ 'Easter';

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21 See discussion of length on p. 20.

22 See discussion of length on p. 20.
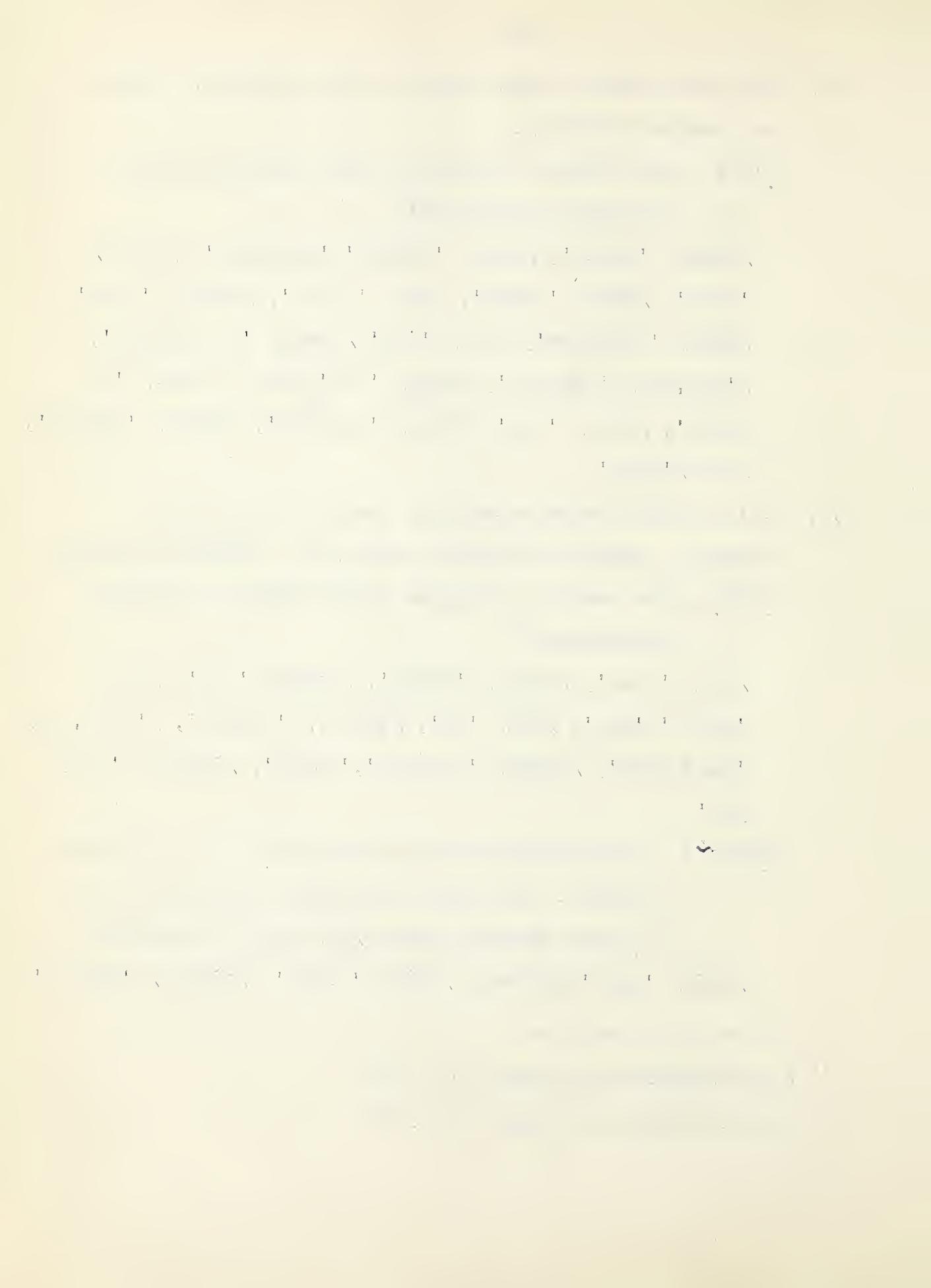
/dɔrf/ 'village'; /vɔrt/ 'word'; /štɔrk/:'stork'; /mɔrdər/ 'murderer'[23]; /kɔrp/ 'basket'; /nɔrt/ 'north'.

/ɑ/ This low central to low back vowel occurs in all positions. Longer and laxer than /a/. Lip rounding is more pronounced in the low back allophone: [ɒ].

[ɑ:]~[ɑ:ə]~[ɒ:]~[ɒ:ə]. The central rounded vowel is more common than the back rounded. The offglide is more common in monosyllables than in polysyllabic words.
/šaf/ 'sheep'; /gɑrtə/ 'garden'; /fort,farə/ 'travel away'; /tɑk/ 'day'; /bəgrɑbə/ 'to bury'; /grɑbə/ 'ditch'; /štrɑlə/ 'beams'(of light); /gɑr/ 'done''cooked' 'vɑr' 'was'; /'šraIp,tɑbəl/ 'handbag'; /jɑr/ 'year'; /frɑgə/ 'question'; /drɑt/ 'wire'; /hɑs/ 'rabbit'; /šlɑfšt/ 'sleep' (2nd pers. sing.); /rɑp/ 'raven'; /ɑ/ 'eyes'; /vɑs/ 'vase'; /vɑ/ 'balance','scales','cart'; /mɑ/ 'stomach'; /rɑt/ 'advice'; /frɑ/ 'wife'. /vɑts/ 'wheat';[24] /špɑt/ 'late'.[24]

/ɐ̃/ This higher low back vowel occurs in all positions. Laxer and longer than /ɔ/. Always nasalized. The nasalization is phonemic.

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[23] /mɔrdər/~/mɛrdər/.

[24] /vɑts/ and /špɑt/ are not typical of this phoneme; they do not have the same allophonic range in their vowel, which is regularly [ɒə]. /vɑts/ is an older form, now little used. It is replaced by /vɑIts/.
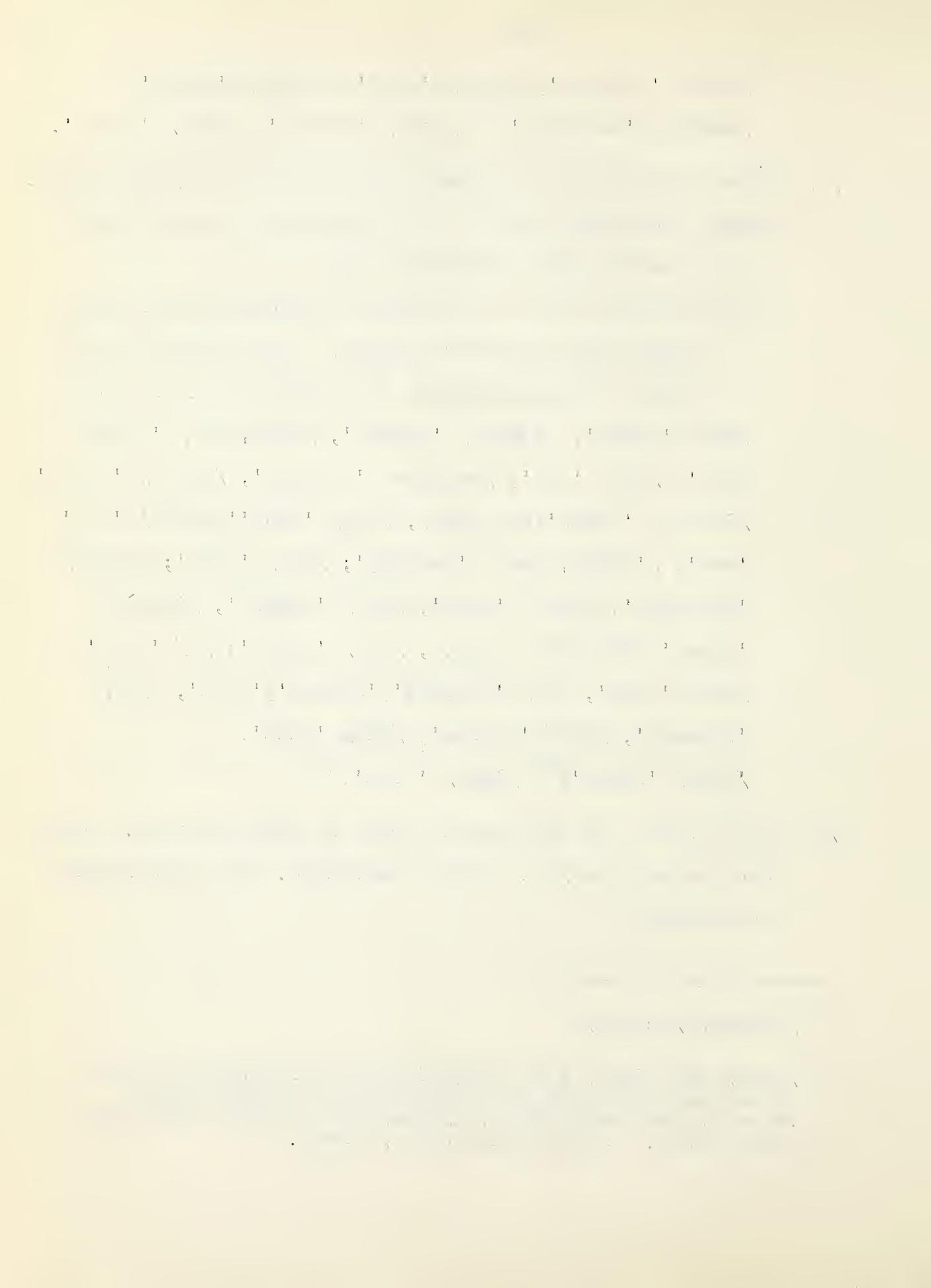
[ω̰:ɔ̰]~[ω̰:] The allophone with the offglide is more

> frequent in monosyllabic than in polysyllabic words.

/bω̰/ 'legs'; /štω̰/ 'stone'; /klω̰/ 'small'; /kω̰/ 'no'(adj.)
/'ω̰ːglɔk/ 'one bell'.

/ω/ This higher low back vowel occurs in all positions.
Laxer and longer than /ɔ/. Always nasalized. The
nasalization is not phonemic.

[ω̰:ə̰]~[ω̰:] The offglide is more frequently found in mono-

> syllabic than in polysyllabic words.

/hωm/ 'home'; /gətrωmt/ 'dreamt' (past part.);
/ˌklωnə'bu/ 'small book';'little boy'; /tsωn/ 'fence'.

/o/ This mid back vowel occurs in all positions. Longer,
laxer and more rounded than /ɔ/.

[o̞:]~[o̞:ə] As above.

/odər/ 'or'; /brot/ 'bread'; /gəloə/ 'lied'(past part.);
/nolə/ 'hill'; /ˌno'fɛmbər/ 'November'; /štro/ 'straw';
/gro/ 'gray'; /ˌbloəs'kraUt/ 'red cabbage'; /blo/ 'blue';
/hols/ 'fetch it'; /rot/ 'red'.

[ɔ̣] Lower mid back. Slightly tense. Same lip rounding

> as [o̞:]. Occurs before /r/.

/gəborən/ 'born'; /tor/ 'gate'.

/U/ This lower high back vowel does not occur finally. Tenser,
less rounded, and shorter than /o/.

[Ụ]~[Ụ̆] Normally of short duration, /U/ is further shor-

> tened when appearing before voiceless consonants,
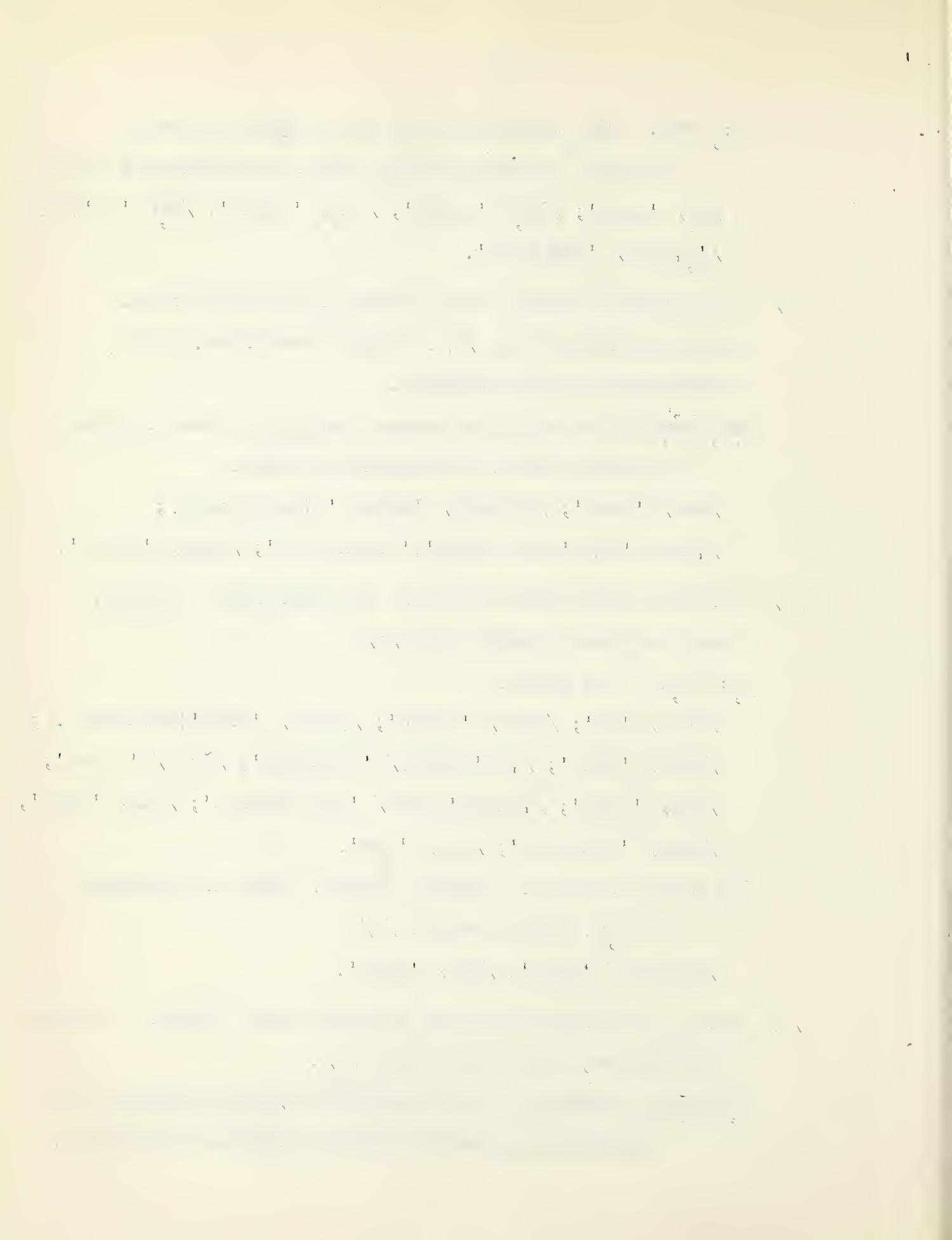
/x/, and /r/ plus voiceless consonant.

/stUm/ 'dumb'; /vá'rUm/ 'why'; /Uf/ 'on'; /'Um,laUfə/ 'to run around'; /dUm/ 'stupid'; /'sUn,tɑk/ 'Sunday'; /kUmt/ 'comes'; /bUx/ 'book'; /mUtər/ 'mother'; /bUkəl/ 'back' (noun); /šUtər/ 'rubble'; /'kUk,rUts/ 'corn on the cob'; /krUk/ 'jug'; /hUpst/ 'hops','jumps'; /tsUk/ 'train' (noun).

/u/ This high back vowel occurs in all positions, except before /x/ and /k/. Laxer, longer and more rounded than /U/. [u̜ː]~[u̜ːə] The offglide is more common in monosyllables than in polysyllabic words.

/gut/ 'good';'well'; /hut/ 'hat'; /'blUmən,kaxəl/'flower pot'; /jusə/ 'to use'; /du/ 'you' (familiar sing.); /,tut'sInə/ 'sings'; /'šU,maxər/ 'shoe-maker'; /ku/ 'cow'; /šul/ 'school'; /tsu/ 'to','shut','too'; /'ur,laUp/ 'leave','furlough'; /bu/ 'boy'; /bubə/ 'boys'.

/ə/ This central, lax unrounded vowel does not occur in initial position, except as the unstressed indefinite article and has tertiary stress. [ə]

/pedər/ 'Peter'; /maIsə/ 'mice'; /tsenə/ 'ten'; /redə/ 'to talk'; /'kInə,vačə/ 'babysitting'; /bibəl/ 'Bible'; /selbət/ 'self'; /'kesə,brot/ 'cheese sandwich'; /mɛnər/ 'more'; /'blUmən,kaxəl/ 'flower pot'.
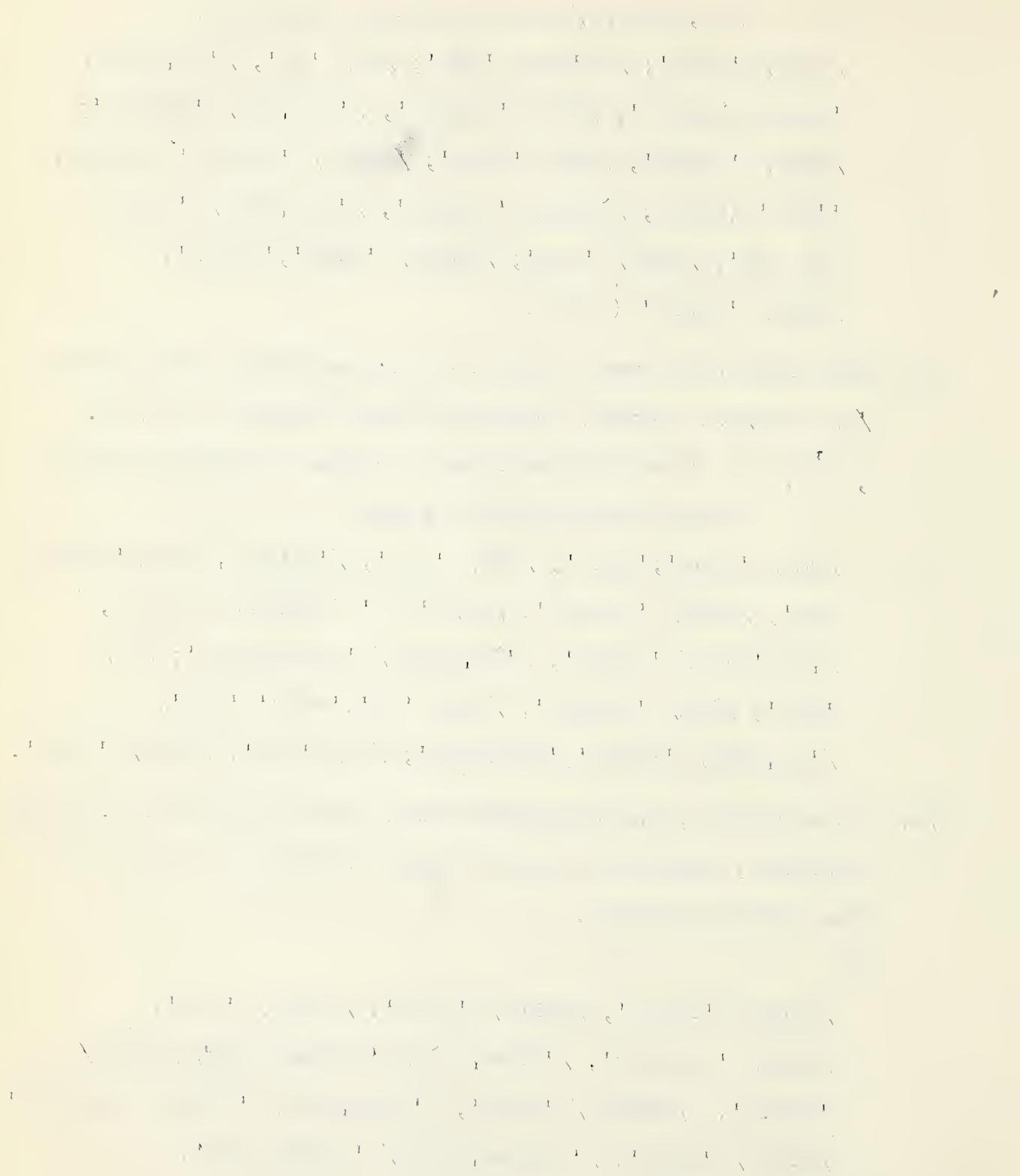
/kɛrpər/ 'body'; /dɔktər/ 'doctor'; /ˌdɛ'tsɛmbər/
'December'; /mɔrdər/ 'murderer'; /ɛpəl/ 'apples';
/fakəl/ 'bunch of straw'(for roof-making); /bUkəl/
'back' (noun).

In some cases vocalic continuants appear regularly.[25]
/hIbəl/ 'hill'; /satəl/ 'saddle'; /knebəl/ 'club';'cŀud-
gel'; /hibən Unt dribən/ 'here and there'; /ˌsɔl'datən-
'kap/ 'helmet'.

/aU/ This diphthong occurs in all positions. Its direction
is from higher low front or upper low retracted front
position to lower high back rounded. Sometimes the
second element is lower high rounded central; when this
happens, the first element is more central. This is a
form which occurs under reduced emphasis. /aU̸/ is lax.
[a<U]∼[aU]∼[a>U]∼[ɑU]. The emphasized allophones are
the first two in the list; the unemphasized allopho-
nes the third and fourth.
/ˌaU'gUšt/ 'August'; /ˌaUgən'blIk/ 'moment'; /traUbə/
'grapes'; /maUs/ 'mouse'; /saUər/ 'sour'; /haUt/ 'skin';
/šaUm/ 'foam'; /plaUdərə/ 'to chat'; /draUs/ 'outside';
/haUs/ 'house'; /kaUfə/ 'to buy'; /'UnˌglaUbix/ 'atheis-
tic'; /aUs/ 'out'.

/ɑI/ This diphthong occurs in all positions. Its direction
is from low central to lower high central or to higher
mid front. Sometimes the second element is an offglide.
/ɑI/ is lax.

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[25] Since only cases with vocalic consonant are recorded,
phonemic notation without /ə/ is also justifiable.

[aᴵ]~[aᵉ]~[aᵊ] As above.

/štraɪx/ 'prank','trick'; /ˌnaɪˈhut/ 'new hat';

/haɪt/ 'today'; /laɪt/ 'people'; /aɪl/ 'owl'; /raɪs/

'journey'; /raɪx/ 'rich'; /laɪs/ 'lice'; /haɪ/ 'hay';

/gəˈsʊntˌhaɪt/ 'health'; /vaɪts/ 'wheat':

[aj] Before a vowel the second element of the diphthong
becomes the glide [j].

/laɪə/ 'to lie'(i.e.ˈrecline'); /faɪər/ 'fire';

/taɪər/ 'dear','expensive'.

/ɔɪ/ This rare diphthong occurs in all positions. Its direc-
tion is from upper low advanced back, rounded to lower
high, front unrounded. Tension is lax.

[ɔᴵ]

/mɔɪ/ 'May'; /vɔɪx/ 'done', 'cooked'; /rɔɪx/ 'smoke';

/tɔɪk/ 'dough'.

[ɔj] The second element becomes [j] before vowels.

/ɔɪə/ 'eggs'; /mɔɪə/ 'to visit'.

2. Consonants

   (a) Stops

/p/ Bilabial voiceless stop, occurs in all positions.
Aspiration is never more than slight. In rapid speech
lightly voiced, resulting in the neutralization of the
contrast in initial /p/:/b/.

[p]~[b] Initial tension is lenis.

/pedər/ 'Peter'; /pɔšt/ 'post(office)'; /pakə/ 'to pack';
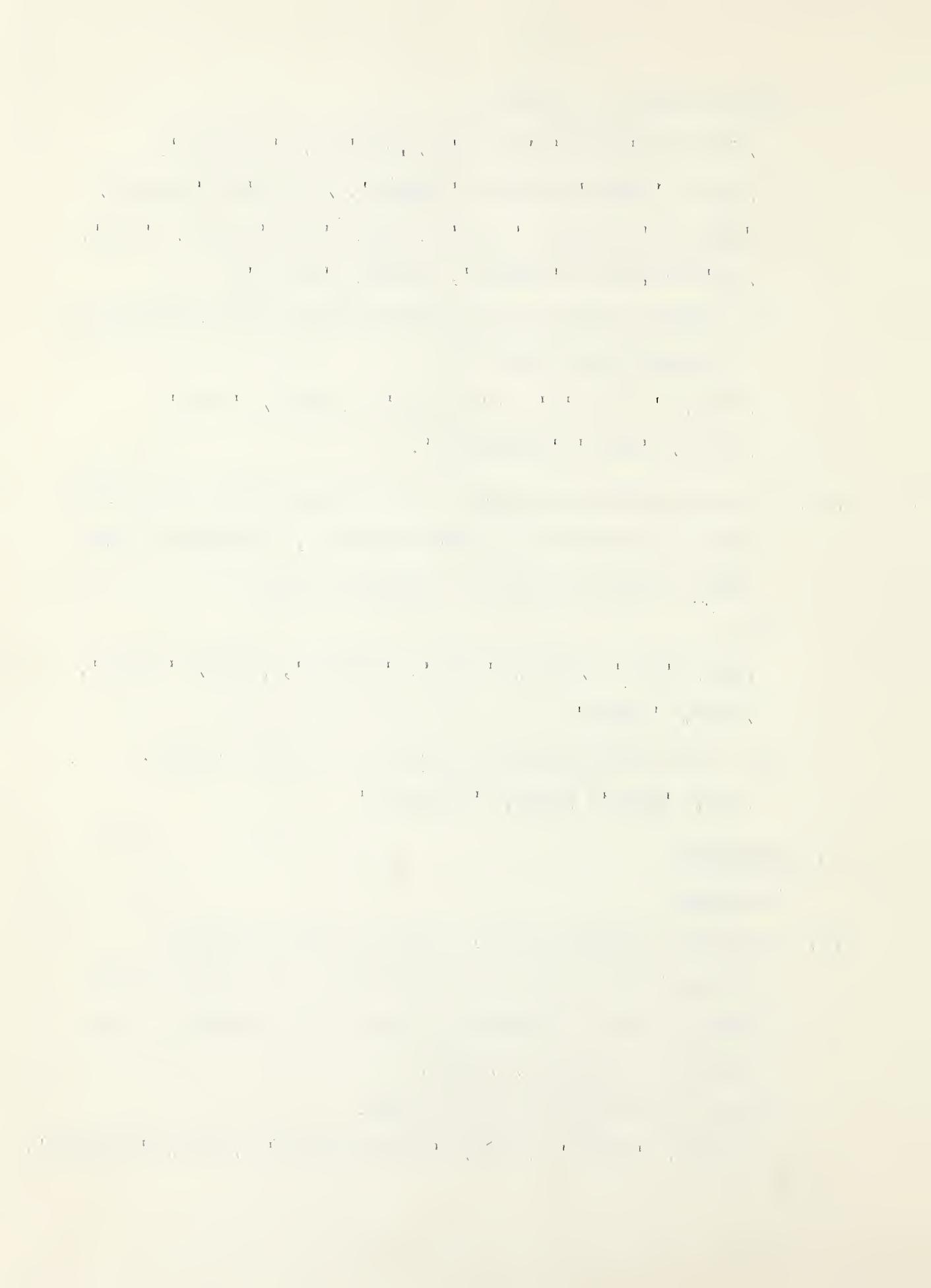
/pIkə/ 'to pick'; /papiər/ 'paper'; /pUnt/ 'pound';

/pɑif/ 'pipe'; /pa'ket/ 'packet'; /past/ 'fits'(verb).

[p̣]   Intervocalically /p/ is recorded only as preceded by

normal or short vowels. Tension is fortis.

/ɛpəl/ 'apples'; /kIpəl/ 'peak','summit'; /štɔpət/

'stopper'; /'hapIx/ 'hawk'; /klɔpə/ 'to beat','knock';

/rapələ/'to rattle'; /šɛpə/ 'to shovel'.

[p̣']~[p̣ʿ]   Finally after normal or short vowels tension is

fortis.

/tɔp/ 'pot'; /tɛp/ 'pots'; /sIp/ 'shovel'; /šɛp/ 'crooked'

/kɔp/ 'head'; /kɛp/ 'heads'.

[p']~[pʿ]   Finally after long vowels and diphthongs tension

is lenis.

/lep/ 'lion'; /'Ur͵laUp/ 'leave','furlough'.

/t/   Apico-gingival or apico-post-dental, voiceless stop.

Occurs in all positions.

[t̺]~[d̺]   In initial position tension is lenis and the

contrast /t/:/d/ is neutralized by almost invariable

voicing.

/tɑk/ 'day'; /tIš/ 'table'; /tɔp/ 'pot'; /tuə/ 'to do';

/tɑIər/ 'dear'; /tir/ 'door'; /'tɛlə͵vIšən/ 'television';

/tɑIbəl/ 'devil'; /tɛp/ 'pots'.

[d̺]   Intervocalically after long vowels and diphthongs,

/t/ is lenis and voiced.

/gəratən/ 'guessed'(past.part.); /͵gutəs 'fɛlt/ 'good

soil'; /štrɑItə/ 'to quarrel';
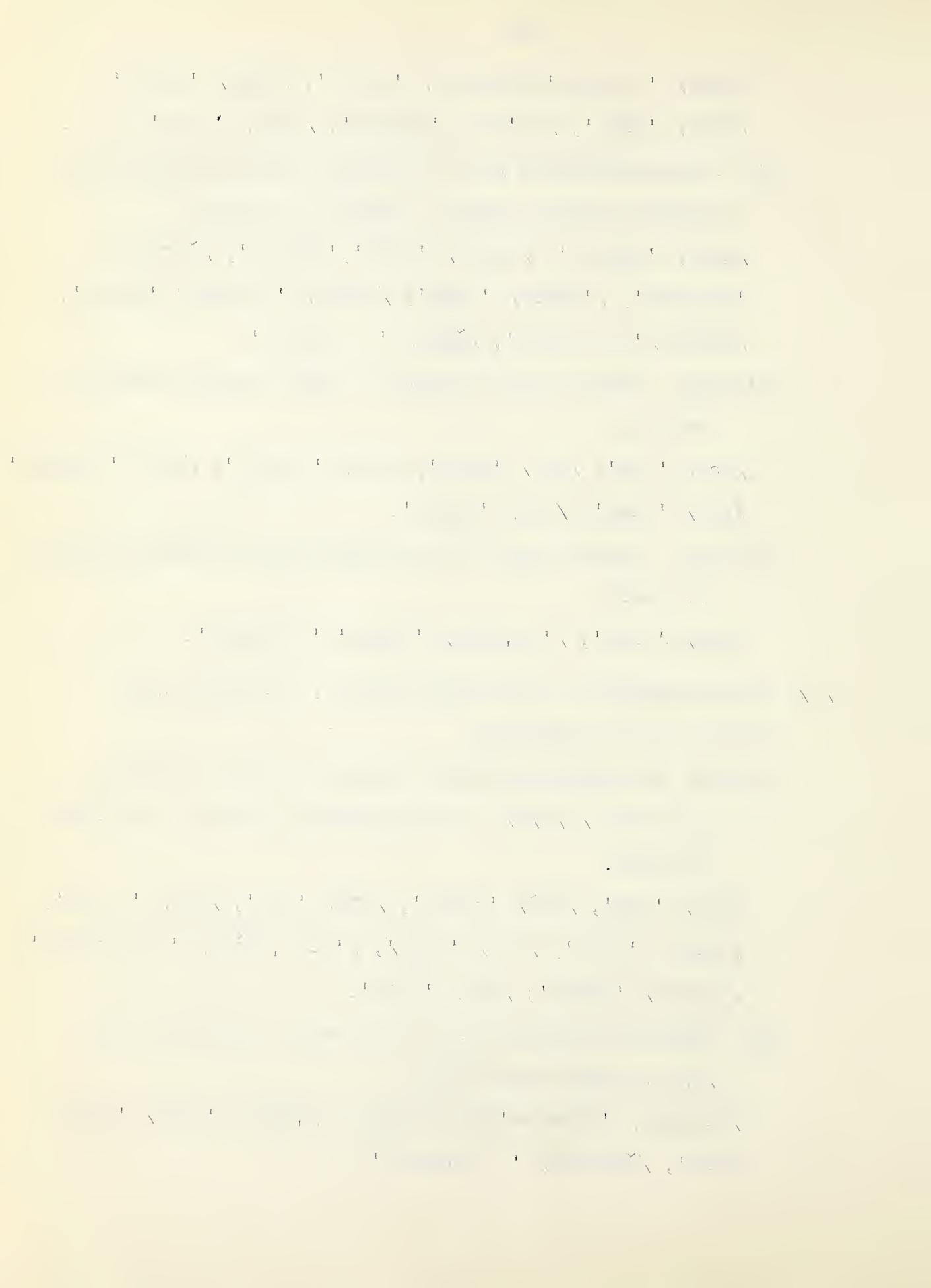
[t̪] Intervocalically after normal or short vowels tension
is fortis.

/mUtər/ 'mother'; /fatər/ 'father';[26] /šUtər/ 'rubble';

/bɛtər/ 'beds'.

[tᴸ] Before vocalic [l], tension lenis, release lateral.

[t̃] Before vocalic [n], tension lenis, release nasal,
glottal coarticulation.

/satəl/ 'saddle'; /bɛtəlt/ 'begs'; /ratən/ 'rats';

/ˌsɔl'datən ˌkap/ 'helmet'.

[t̪ʼ]~[t̪ˤ] Finally after long vowels and diphthongs, /t/
is lenis.

/hut/ 'hat'; /gut/ 'good'; /rot/ 'red'; /štraIt/ 'quarrel'

(noun); /gəˈsUnt ˌhaIt/ 'health'; /brot/ 'bread'; /špat/

'late'; /haUt/ 'skin'; /haIt/ 'today'; /saIt/ 'side';

/sit/ 'south'; /laIt/ 'people'; /ˌadvɔ'kat/ 'lawyer';

/kraUt/ 'cabbage'; /sat/ 'seed'; /met/ 'girls'.

[t̪ʼ]~[t̪ˤ] Finally after normal or short vowels tension is
fortis.

/šrIt/ 'step' (noun); /gərɛt/ 'talked' (past part.);

/rɛt/ 'talks'; /gɔt/ 'God'; /mIt/ 'with'; /bɛt/ 'bed'.

/k/ Velar or palato-velar, voiceless stop. Occurs in all
positions. Point of articulation depends on environment.

[k̟]~[g̟] Initially before front vowels, the point of articula-
tion is palato-velar. The contrast /k/:/g/ is
neutralized by frequent voicing. Tension is lenis.

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[26] This is an old form now replaced by /fadər/.
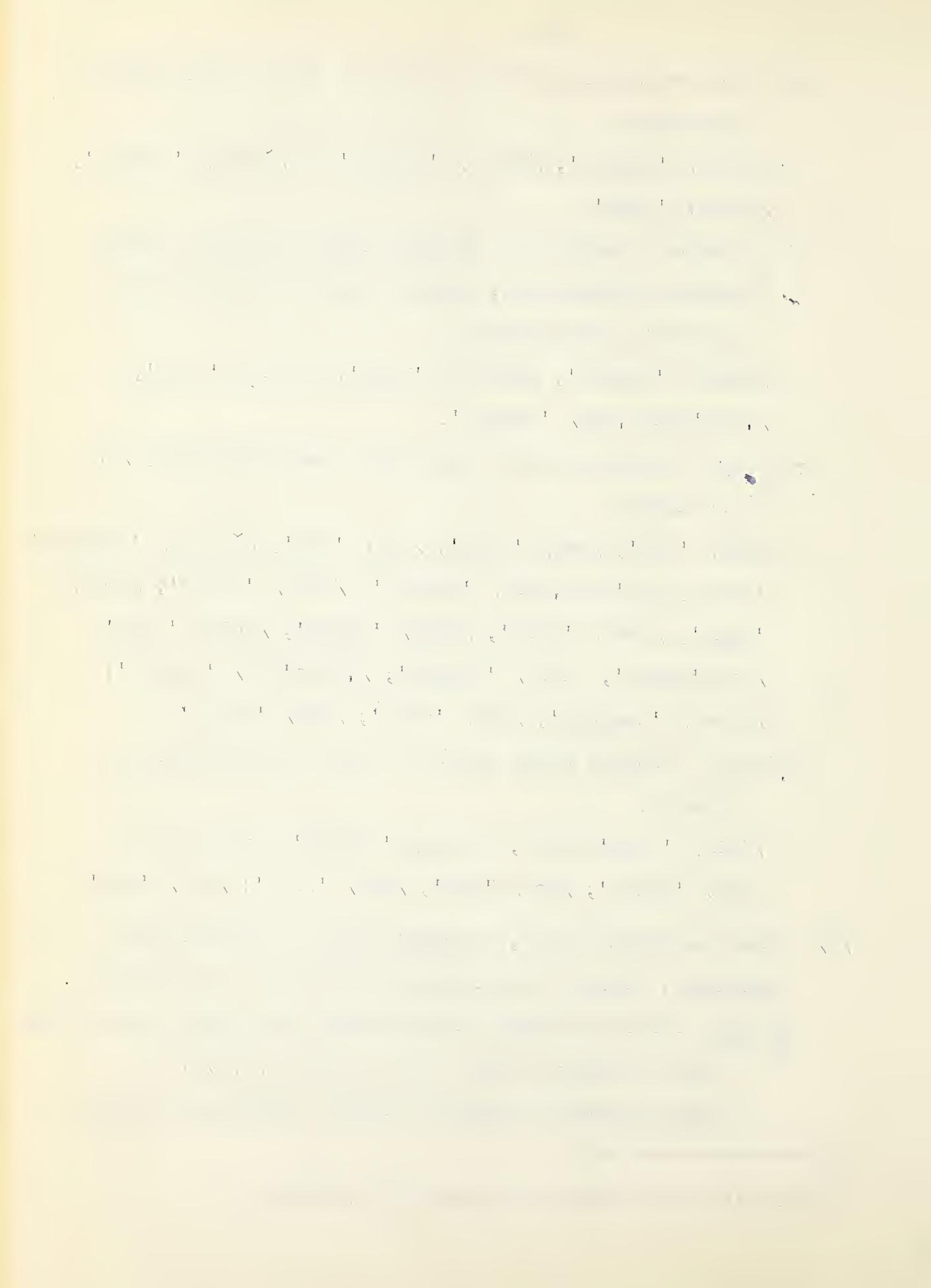
/kIpəl/ 'peak','top'; /kes/ 'cheese'; /ki/ 'cows';

/kInt/ 'child'; /kIrx/ 'church'; /kIč / 'shovel-like

tool'(used in bread baking); /kaxəl/ 'pot'(earthenware).

[k]~[g] Initially before back vowels, the point of articu-

   lation is velar. Otherwise as above.

/'kUk,rUts/ 'corn on the cob'; /kUmə/ 'to come'; /kɔrp/

'basket'; /ku/ 'cow';

[k]~[g] Intervocalically this phoneme is recorded only as

   preceded by normal or short vowels. After front

   vowels the point of articulation is palato-velar.

   Voicing is infrequent. Tension is fortis unless the

   stop is voiced.

/fakələ/ 'bunches of straw'(for roof making); /nakənt/

'bare','naked'; /pIkə/ 'to pick'; /šIkə/ 'to send';

/pakə/'to pack'; /flIkə/ 'to patch','darn'; /jUkə/'to itch'.

[k]~[g] Intervocalically after back vowels, point of

   articulation is velar. Otherwise as above.

/bUkəl/ 'back'; /gUkə/ 'to look'; /glɔkə/ 'bells';

/'šɔkəl,štul/ 'rocking chair'; /trUkə/ 'dry'(adj.).

[k] Finally this phoneme is recorded only once as preceded

   by a long vowel, otherwise by normal or short vowels.[27]

   Before front vowels the point of articulation is

   palato-velar. This allophone is always voiceless.

   Tension is fortis.

/krIk/ 'jugs'; /'špɛk,maUs/ 'bat'; /dIk/ 'fat'; /glIk/

---

[27] The exception is /tɑk/ 'day'.

'happiness','good luck'; /ˌaUgən'blIk/ 'moment';

/sak/ 'pocket'.

[k̯] Finally after back vowels, the point of articulation
is velar. Otherwise as above.

/'haI,štɔk/ 'haystack'; /tsUk/ 'train'; /krUk/ 'jug';

/šUk/ 'shoe'; /flɔk/ 'flea'.

/b/ Bilabial voiced lenis stop. Does not occur finally.

[b̯] As above.

/bez/ 'bad','wicked'; /ban/ 'railway'; /balkə/ 'beam';

/baUə/ 'to build'; /ber/ 'bear'; /bax/ 'river';

/bIsjə/ 'bit'(noun); /bUkəl/ 'back'(noun); /baŋk/'bench';

/'bUx,sak/ 'satchel'; /bibəl/ 'Bible'; /bɛtəlt/ 'begs';

/besəm/ 'broom'.

[ß̯]~[b̯] Intervocalic /b/ is a bilabial voiced lenis
spirant, except when it follows a normal length vowel;
then there is sometimes a stop.

/ˌda'dribər/ 'over there'; /traUbə/ 'grapes'; /hɛbə/
'bowl'; /rabə/ 'ravens'; /habə/ 'saucepan'; /'mɔI,kebər/
'May bug'; /sIbə/ 'seven'; /bibəl/ 'Bible'; /bubə/'boys';
/'šve,bIš/ 'Swabian'; /'šraIp,tabəl/ 'handbag'; /'ebIx/
'eternal'; /habər/ 'oats'.

[b̯] After a normal vowel and preceding a vocalic consonant,
the stop occurs.

/'hɛbəlxjə/ 'cup'; /hIbəl/ 'hill'; /trabəl/ 'trouble';

/mɛr 'habən gə'rɛt/ 'we talked';[28] /traUbən/ 'grapes'.[29]

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[28] This form is not usual; one would expect: /mɛr han gərɛt/.

[29] This form varies with /traUbə/ where /b/ is a spirant.
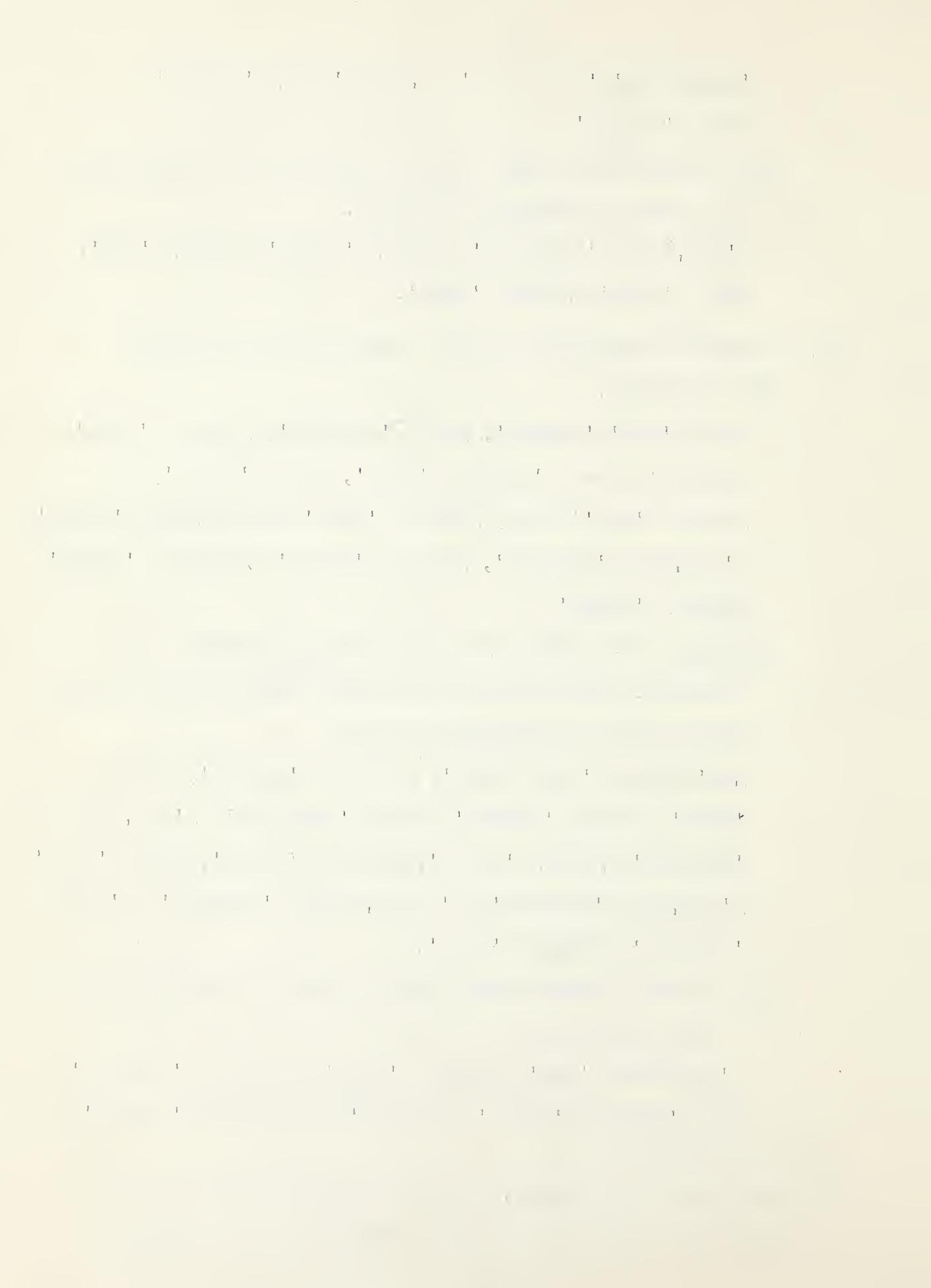
/d/ Apico-gingival or apico-post-dental voiced lenis stop.
    Does not occur finally.

   [d̪] As above.

      /dɔrf/ 'village'; /ˌdɛ'tsɛmbər/ 'December'; /dɔktər/
      'doctor'; / dəs'sɛlbə/ 'the same'; /dŪm/ 'stupid';
      /dIk/ 'thick'; /'dInș̌tɑk/ 'Tuesday'; /dIn/ 'thin'.

   [d̪] Intervocalic /d/ is a post-dental, lenis spirant after
      long vowels and diphthongs.[30]

      /'haI̦bodəm/ 'hay loft'; /'aUșbrɑIdə/ 'to spread out';
      /glidər/ 'limbs'; /pedər/ 'Peter'; /medə/ 'girl';
      /šnɑIdə/ 'to cut'; /odər/ 'or'; /gedə/ 'to weed';
      /'tsɑI̦duŋ/ 'newspaper'; /bodəm/ 'ground','floor';
      /fɑdəm/ 'thread'; /vɑIdər/ 'farther'; /lɑdər/ 'ladder'.

   [d̪]~[d̪] After normal vowels the stop sometimes occurs.
      /vIdər/ 'again'; /rɛdə/ 'to talk'; /šIdə/ 'to pour';
      /'prɛdIgər/ 'preacher'.

/g/ Velar or palato velar, voiced, lenis stop. Does not
    occur finally. Point of articulation varies according to
    environment.

   [g] Initially before front vowels, point of acrticulation
      is post palatal.
      /gisə/ 'to pour'; /gaUl/ 'horse'; /gɛršt/ 'barley';
      /gIlə/ 'guilder'(coin used in Galicia); /gedə/ 'to weed';

---

[30] If /d/ were to follow the same pattern as /b/, there would
be a stop alternative for this allophone after a normal
vowel and before a vocalic consonant. No examples of this
sequence were recorded.

/gansərt/ 'gander'.

[g̠] Initially before back vowels, point of articulation
is velar.

/gut/ 'good'; /gaIl/ 'horses'; /gɔt/ 'God'; /gUkə/ 'to
look'; /gUmərə/ 'gherkins'; /gaIšt/ 'ghost'.

[j̠]∽[j]∽[∅] Intervocalically after long front vowels,
the point of articulation (unless the zero allophone
occurs) is post palatal. [1] The most common allophone
[∅], but the voiced spirant [j̠] or the glide [j]
occur under emphasis.

/krigə/ 'to get'; /regənt/ (it) 'is raining'; /negəl/
'nails'; /tsigəl/ 'tiles'; /fegəl/ 'birds'; /štrigəl/
'curry comb'; /štregəl/ 'hair comb'.

(b) <u>Affricates</u>

/ts/ Blade-alveolar, voiceless affricate. Occurs in all
positions.

[ts]∽[ts]∽[ᵗs]∽[ᵗs] Initially in unemphasized forms the
[t] tends to be evanescent, whereas the [s] has
semi-lenis or fortis tension.

/tselə/ 'to count'; /tsUk/ 'train'; /tsenə/ 'ten'
/tsigəl/ 'tiles'; /tsu/ 'to','too'; /tsɔn/ 'fence';
/'tsaI,dUŋ/ 'newspaper'; /'tsImlIx/ 'fairly','rather';
/tse/ 'tough';'toe'; /tse/ 'teeth'.

_____

[1] The only recording of a long back vowel before medial /g/
is /fogəl/ 'bird' realized [fo: əl], [fo:ᵊl] and [fo:];
the only normal vowel recorded before /g/ was
/rɔgən/ realized as [rɔgᴺn̩]

[t͡s] Intervocalically after normal or short vowels tension
    is fortis. [2]

    /atsəl/ 'magpie'; /platsə/ 'to burst'; /ˌdɛˈtsɛmbər/

    'December'; /špatsə/ 'sparrows'; /kratsə/ 'to scratch'.

[t͡s]~[t͡s] Finally tension is fortis after normal vowels;
    lenis after diphthongs and long vowels.

    /ˈkUkˌrUts/ 'corn on the cob'; /vɑIts/ 'wheat'; /vIts/

    'joke'; /ˈnIksˌnUts/ 'useless'; /krɑIts/ 'cross'(noun).

/č/ Blade-palato-alveolar affricate. Does not occur initially.
    Tension is difficult to judge from the small number of
    examples but would appear to conform to the general pattern:
    fortis after normal or short vowels, lenis elsewhere.

[t͡š] Intervocalically:

    /ˌdɑIčəˈlɑIt/ 'German people'; /plačə/ 'to splash'.

[t͡š] Finally:

    /dɑIč/ 'German'; /pɑIč/ 'whip'(noun); /kIč/ 'shovel-like
    tool' (used in bread making).

(c) Spirants

/f/ This labio-dental or bilabial voiceless fricative occurs
    in all positions. It is slightly tenser than /v/. Labio-
    dental forms often occur under emphasis, in which case
    the upper lip is raised slightly to avoid impeding the
    articulation between lower lip and upper teeth. In normal

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[2] No examples recorded of long vowel preceding /ts/. /krɑItsər/
(Standard German "Kreutzer", a coin used in Galicia).

rapid speech the lips come close enough together to
produce a bilabial spirant.

[f̪]~[f̪]~[ɸ]~[ɸ] In initial position tension is lenis or
    semi-lenis.

  /faɪər/ 'fire'; /firə/ 'four'; /fimfə/ 'five';

  /'fɛbrər/ 'February'; /'far͵ɔks/ 'bull'; /fɪlə/ 'foal';

  /fɛlt/ 'field'; /fɛrt/ 'horse' ; /fɔrt/ 'away'; /fegəl/

  'birds'; /'fɪrtsɪx/ 'forty'; /fis/ 'feet'; /fix/ 'cattle';

  /fil/ 'much'; /'fɛrtɪx/ 'ready'; /fadər/ 'father'. [4]

[f̪]~[v]~[ɸ]~[ß]. Intervocalically after long vowels and
    diphthongs there is a tendency to voicing; tension
    is lenis.

  /šafə/ 'sheep'(dat.sing.); /͵no'fɛmbər/ 'November';

  /šlafə/ 'to sleep'; /šnaUfə/ 'to breathe'; /laUfə/ 'to

  run'; /kaUfə/ 'to buy'.

[f̪]~[f̪] Intervocalically after normal vowels tension is
    semi-lenis or fortis. No voicing.

  /sɪfər/ 'drunkard'; /šafə/ 'to work'; /rafə/ 'to grab',

  'to pick up'.

[f̪]~[ɸ] Finally after long vowels and diphthongs tension
    is lenis.

  /gəšlaf/ 'slept'(past part.); /šaf/ 'sheep'(singular);

  /'lebəns͵laUf/ 'course of life'; /paɪf/ 'pipe'.

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  The usual term is /gaUl/.

[4] This form, realized [fadə̌r], is commoner than /fatər/ which
is now obsolete.
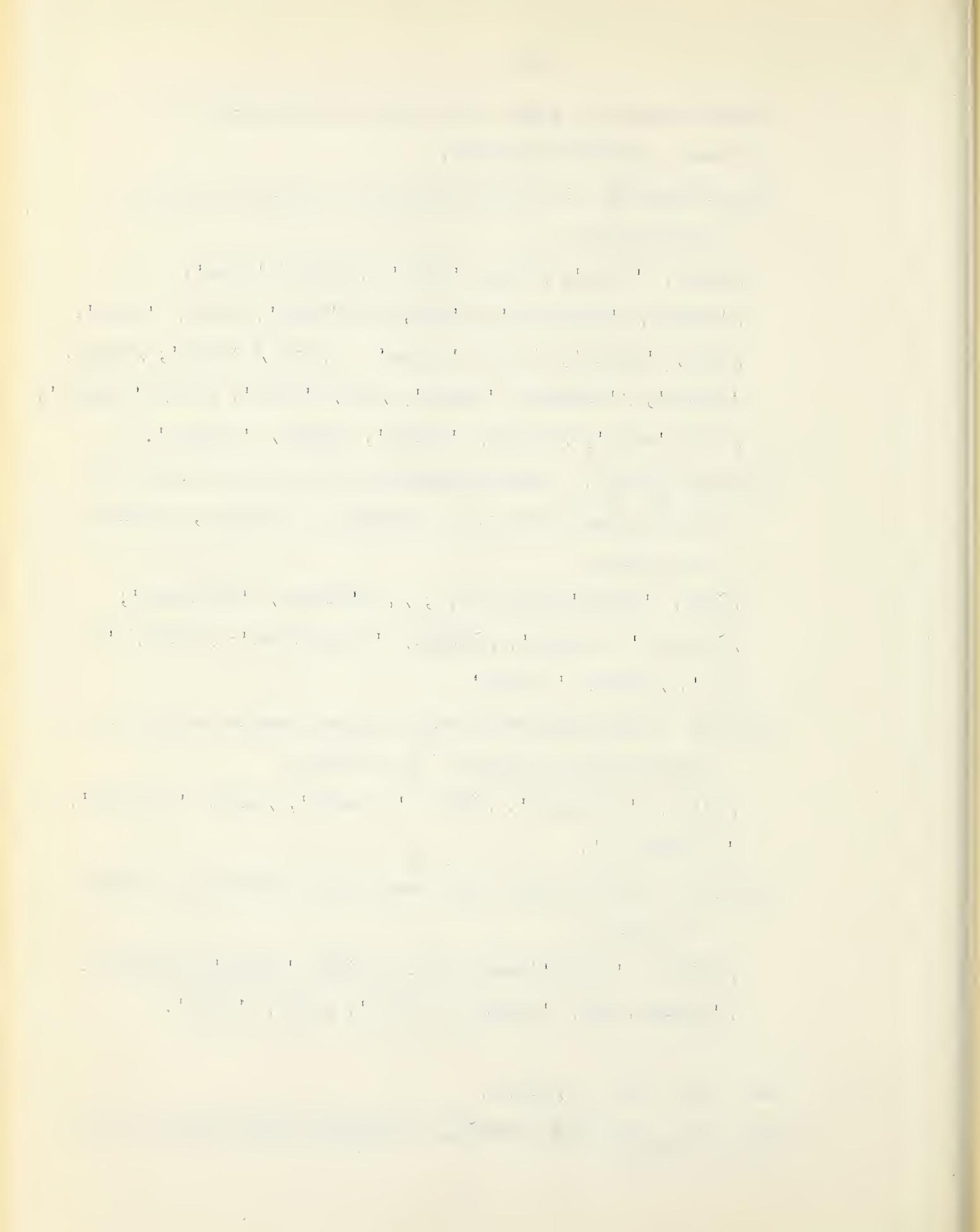
[f̪]~[ɸ] Finally after normal vowels /f/ is slightly

      tenser than after long.

  /‚štaI 'Uf/ 'get up!'; /šIf/ 'ship'; /drUf/ 'on it'.

/v/ This bilabial or labio-dental voiced lenis spirant occurs

only in initial position. The labio-dental spirant is

rare in this idiolect. Usually the amount of friction

in this phoneme is slight, and the realization [w]

frequently occurs when no emphasis is laid on the word

in question.

[v]~[ß]~[w] In initial position before rounded vowels

      [w] is found. Otherwise initially the variation

      depends on emphasis, [v] being emphatic, [w] unem-

      phatic.

  /'vIndIx/ 'windy'; /'vaI‚naxtə/ 'Christmas'; /vaIn/

'wine'; /'vIrts‚haUs/ 'inn'; /vasər/ 'water'; /vas/

'vase'; /vešə/ 'wash'; /varm/ 'warm'; /vɛrfə/ 'to throw';

/vaIdər/ 'farther'; /vɔIx/ 'soft'; /vɔl/ 'wool'; /vaIts/

'wheat'; /va/ 'scales' or 'wagon'; /vantsə/ 'bugs'.

/s/ Blade-alveolar groove fricative. The allophone [s] has

greater tension than [z]. Occurs in all positions.

[s]~[z] Initially before vowels the voiceless phoneme

      more frequent.

  /‚sɛp'tɛmbər/ 'September'; /sɛlbə/ 'same'; /satəl/

'saddle'; /sɛksə/ 'six'; /sIbə/ 'seven'; /sIfər/ 'heavy

drinker'; /saIt/ 'side'; /saUər/ 'sour'; /salts/ 'salt';

/sIn/ 'to be'; /saxə/ 'affair'; /samə/ 'seed'.

[s̪]~[z̪]   Intervocalically after long vowels and diphthongs

/s/ is lenis;

/ˌkI'nesər/ 'Chinaman'; /raIsə/ 'to tear'; /gisə/ 'pour';

/glesər/ 'glasses'; /maIsə/ 'mice'; /'kesəˌbrot/ 'cheese

sandwich'; /šmaIsə/ 'to throw'; /fɛ'gresəˌrUŋ/ 'enlarge-

ment';

[s̪]   Intervocalically after normal length vowels tension

is semi-lenis. No voicing.

/vasər/ 'water'; /šIsəl/ 'dish'; /glɛsər/ 'glasses'[35]

/hasə/ 'to hate'.

[s̪]~[z̪]   Finally after vowels: lenis.

/draUs/ 'outside'; /kes/ 'cheese'; /glas/ 'glass';

/laIs/ 'lice'; /raIs/ 'journey'; /maUs/ 'mouse'; /bes/

'bad','wicked'; /klas/ 'class'; /vas/ 'vase'; /has/

'rabbit'; /das/ 'that'; /'štrakˌaUs/ 'straight ahead';

/š/ Voiceless fricative articulated between the alveolus and

the blade of the tongue which together form a slit

narrowing to the front. The greatest constriction is

between the alveolus and the blade. Lips slightly

protruded for this sound. Tension is lenis. No posi-

tional variants could be distinguished. /š/ is

realized as [š] in all positions.

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[35] /glɛsər/~/glesər/

Initially before vowels:

/šIp/ 'shovel'; /šɛnə/ 'to scold'; /šIsəl/ 'dish';

/šɛrbəl/ 'shard'; /šaUm/ 'foam'; /šɛp/ 'crooked';

/šIdə/ 'to pour'; /šUtər/ 'rubble'; /šaf/ 'sheep';

/šul/ 'school'.

Intervocalically:

/vɛšə/ 'to wash'; /gəšIxtə/ 'story'; /kɾaIšə/ 'to screech'.

Finally after vowels:

/ɛš/ 'ashes'; /tIš/ 'table'; /flaIš/ 'meat'; /'švebIš/

'Swabian'; /ˌfran'ʦesIš/ 'French'.

/x/ Velar or palato-velar, voiceless fricative. The point of
articulation depends on environment. Does not occur
initially.

[ç]~[ʝ] Intervocalically after long front vowels or
diphthongs whose second element is a front vowel,
point of articulation is post palatal and tension is
lenis. Frequent voicing.

/rixə/ 'to smell'; /braIxəns/ (we) 'need it'; /špaIxət/
'loft','granary'; /krixə/ 'wars'; /glaIxə/ 'to like'.

[ç]~[ʝ] Intervocalically after short front vowels, the
point of articulation is as above, except in the
case of /x/ following /a/: here articulation is
retracted from the palate but is not as far back as
/x/ after /U/. Tension semi-lenis.

/sprɛxə/ 'to speak'; /krIxə/ 'to crawl'; /maxə/ 'to make';
/kaxəl/ 'pot'; /zaxə/ 'thing','affair'; /'šUˌmaxər/

/laxə/ 'to laugh'.

[x]~[ɣ] Intervocalically after back vowels, the point of
    articulation is velar. Tension lenis.

/knɔxə/ 'bones'.

[ç]~[ç] Finally after front vowels or diphthongs ending
    in a front vowel, the point of articulation is post pa-
    latal. Tension after diphthongs and after tertiary
    stress is lenis. Elsewhere semi-lenis. No voicing.
    Articulation following /a/ as above. No long vowels
    recorded before final /x/.

/Ix/ 'I'; /raIx/ 'rich'; /vɔIx/ 'soft'; /'naIdIx/ 'angry';
/'honIx/ 'honey'; /'UnIx/ 'under'; /štraIx/ 'prank',
'trick'; /švax/ 'weak/; /bax/ 'river'; /'nebIx/'beside'.

[x]~[x] Finally after back vowels or diphthongs ending in
    back vowels, the point of articulation is velar.
    Tension is semi-lenis unless following a diphthong,
    then it is lenis.

/bUx/ 'book'; /nɔx/ 'still'; 'yet'; /fɛbrɔx/ 'broken';
/lɔx/ 'hole', 'cave'; /aUx/ 'also'; /šlaUx/ 'hose',
'clever'.

/h/ Laryngeal, voiceless spirant. The constriction is at no
    time sufficient to produce audible friction of the same
    volume as /f/, /s/, /x/. The articulators take up the
    position for the following vowel. Occurs predominantly
    in initial position. /h/ is produced with moderate as-
    piration and is not present in clusters.

[h] Initially:

/'honIx/ 'honey'; /haUs/ 'house'; /haI/ 'hay'; /hɛl/
'Hell'; /haUt/ 'skin'; /hɛbə/ 'bowl'; /hut/ 'hat';
/haz/ 'rabbit'; /habər/ 'oats'; /habə/ 'saucepan';
/hIbəl/ 'hill'.

[h] Intervocalically:

/ˌalkə'hɔl/ 'alcohol'; /'joˌhan/ 'John'.

(d) <u>Nasals</u>

/m/ Bilabial, voiced, nasal continuant. Occurs in all
positions. May cause marked nasalization preceding
vowel.

[m] Initially:

/mUtər/ 'mother'; /mɛrts/ 'March'; /mɔI/ 'May';
/'mUšˌrat/ 'muskrat'; /'mIsgəˌbUrt/ 'dwarf'; /ma/
ˌ'stomach'; /mɔIə/ 'to visit'; /mɛrxjə/ 'fairy story';
/mIlIx/ 'milk'.

[m] Intervocalically:

/'blUmənˌkaxəl/ 'flower pot'; /'oˌmɛntsə/ 'ants';
/'šUˌmaxər/ 'shoe maker'; /'nIˌme/ 'no more'; /gəmɔIt/
'visited'(past part.); /gUmərə/ 'gherkin' /nUmərə/
'numbers'.

[m] Finally:

/fadəm/ 'thread'; /bodəm/ 'floor';'ground'; /laIm/ 'glue';
/šaUm/ 'foam'; /krUm/ 'crooked'; /ram/ 'cream'; /štUm/
'dumb';/hʊm/ 'home'[36]; /dUm/ 'stupid'; /kUm/ 'come'(past

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[36] /hʊm/ is the only case of final /m/ being realized only by
nasalization of the preceding vowel: [h ˌ:ə]
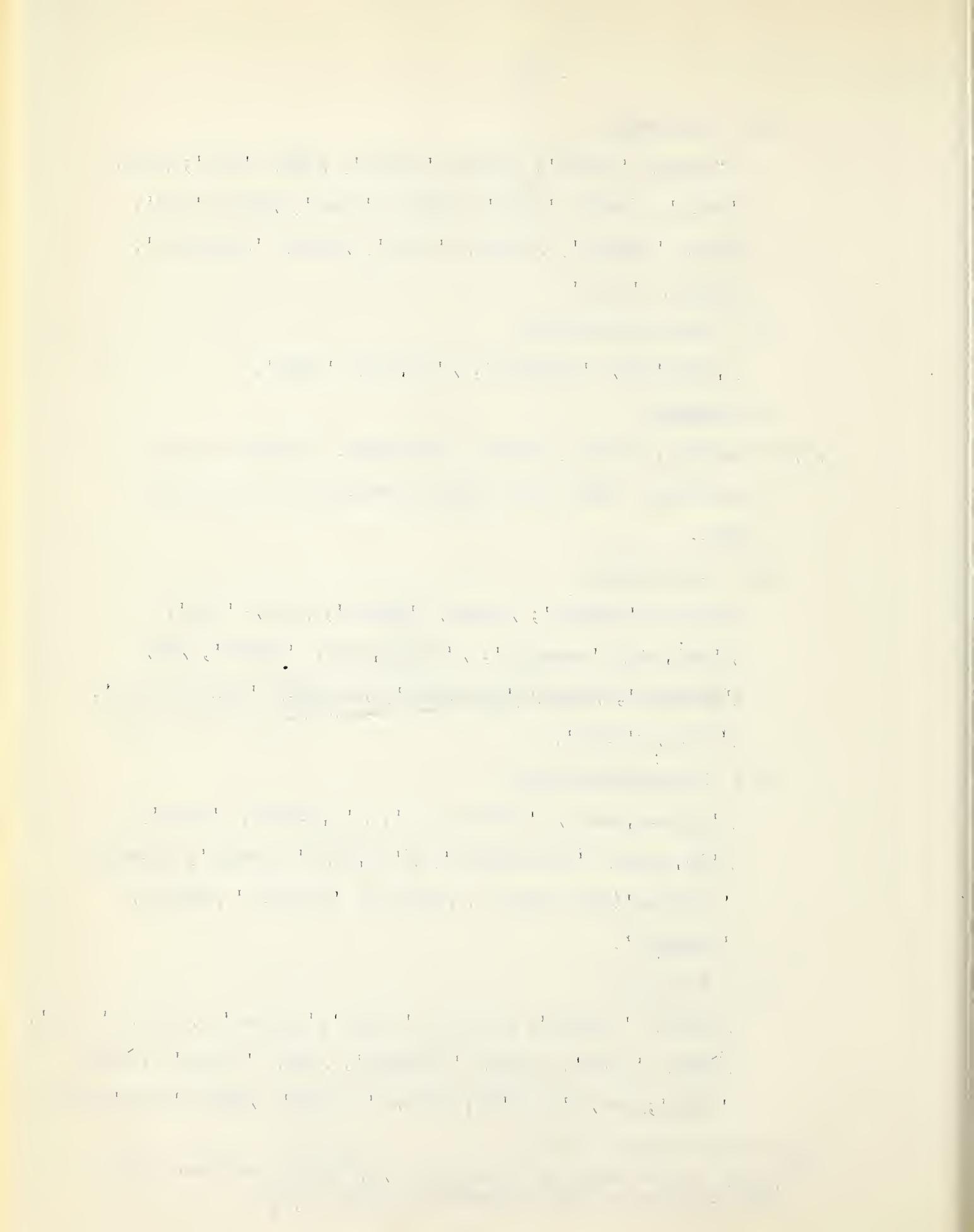
part.); /kram/ 'cramp'(noun);/besəm/ 'broom'.

/n/ Apico-gingival or apico-post-dental, voiced, nasal con-
    tinuant. Occurs in all positions. May cause marked
    nasalization on preceding vowel.

[ṇ] Initially:

/naInə/ 'nine'; /negəl/ 'nails'; /ˌnoˈfɛmbər/ 'November';
/nɛt/ 'not'; /nꭣ/ 'no'; /nɔrt/ 'north'; /nɔx/ 'still';
'yet'; /ˈnetlIx/ 'necessary'; /ˈnIksˌnUts/ 'useless';
/nUmərə/ 'numbers'.

[ṇ] Intervocalically:

/ˈhonIx/ 'honey'; /naInə/ 'nine'; /t͡senə/ 'ten'; /šɛnə/
'to scold' ; /jɛnər/ 'January'; /ˈjUˌni/ 'June';
/renə/ 'to rain'; /ˌkIˈnesər/ 'Chinaman'; /hUnərt/
'hundred'; /ˈUnIx/ 'under'; /ə ˌklꭣnə ˈbu/ 'a small
book','a small boy'; /menər/ 'more'; /laInə/ 'reins'.

Finally. As has been noted in the discussion of nasaliza-
tion,[37] the /n/ is frequently represented in final
position by [ˌ], which, therefore, becomes an allophone
of /n/. The absence of [n] is more characteristic after
long than after normal vowels. In the latter position
no case of [n] - evanescence is recorded for a single
utterance.

[ṇ]∼[ˌṇ]. This allophonic range occurs finally after
    normal length vowels.[38]

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[37] See pp.24-25.

[38] An exception is /hIn/ 'away', 'down', which is often
realized as [hI̯iə].

/In/ 'in'; /fɔn/ 'of','from'; /man/ 'man'(noun);

/sIn/ 'to be'; /kan/ 'can' 'am able'; /dan/ 'then'.

[n̥]~[n̩]~[,]. This allophonic range occurs finally after

    long vowels and diphthongs.

/bɑn/ 'railway'; /šen/ 'beautiful'; /braUn/ 'brown';

/tsɯn/ 'fence'.

[ŋ̩]~[ŋ]~[,ŋ̩]~[,ŋ] Allophones occurring before velar stops.

    Point of articulation varies as in the case of /k/,

    /g/, /x/.

/'blumən,kaxəl/ 'flower pot';ɛ/,sIn 'kUm/ 'have come';

/'hIŋə,let/ 'laid down'(past part.).

/ŋ/ Velar or post palatal, voiced, nasal continuant. Does not

    occur initially. Usually causes marked nasalization. Its

    point of articulation varies with environment, as does

    that of /k/, /g/, /x/.

[ŋ̩]~[ŋ]~Intervocalically:

[,ŋ̩]~[,ŋ] /siŋə/ 'to sing'; /fIŋər/ 'finger'; /dIŋə/ 'things';

    /rIŋə/ 'squares'(in towns); /,laŋə'tsaIt/ 'long time'.

[ŋ̩]~[ŋ]~Finally:[39]

[,ŋ̩]~[,ŋ] /lUŋ/ 'lung'; /gəsUŋ/ 'sung'(past part.); /'tsaI,dUŋ/

    'newspaper'; /rIŋ/ 'square'(in a town); /laŋ/ 'long'.

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[39]There is no recording of final /ŋ/ being realized by the
nasalization of the preceding vowel alone, in contrast to
/m/ and /n/, which are sometimes thus realized.

(e) <u>Laterals</u>

/l/ Apico-gingival or apico-post-dental, voiced , lateral

continuant. Normally slightly velarized, it is more so

after the following vowels: /a/, /ə/, /ɑ/, /ɔ/, /o/, /U/,

/u/. /l/ occurs in all positions.

[l̰] Initially:

/ˌlInksə ˈhant/ ˈleft hand'; /lɑIm/ ˈglue'; /lɑIxt/

ˈlight'(not heavy); /lep/ ˈlion'; /lɑis/ ˈlice'; /lUŋ/

ˈlung'; /lɑIt/ ˈpeople'; /let/ ˈlays'(verb); /lᴂbə/ ˈto

live'; /lIxtər/ ˈaltar candles'; /laxə/ ˈto laugh';

/laUfə/ ˈto run'.

[l̰]~[ɫ̰] Intervocalically after front vowels except /a/:

/ʦelə/ ˈto count'; /fIlə/ ˈfoal'; /ˈmIlIx/ ˈmilk';

/brIlə/ ˈglasses'; /štelə/ˈto steal'; /ˌkilᵈtɑk/ ˈcool

day'; /ˈtɛləˌvIšən/ ˈtelevision'; /gIlə/ ˈguilder'(coin

used in Galicia).

[ɫ̰] Intervocalically after other vowels:

/fakəl/ ˈbunch of straw'(for roof making); /ˈjuˌli/ˈJuly';

/nolə/ ˈhill'; /alə/ ˈall'; /ˈhɔˌlɛndər/ ˈDutchman';

/knUlə/ ˈpotato' ;[40] /štrɑlə/ ˈbeams'(of light); /rɑpələ/

ˈto rattle';

[l̰] Finally after short front vowels except /a/:

/aˈprIl/ ˈApril'; /hɛl/ ˈHell'; /štIl/ ˈstill',ˈquiet';

/vIl/ ˈwants'(verb).

[l̰]~[ɫ̰] Finally after long front vowels where the vowel

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[40] /ˈgrUmˌberə/ is the usual term.
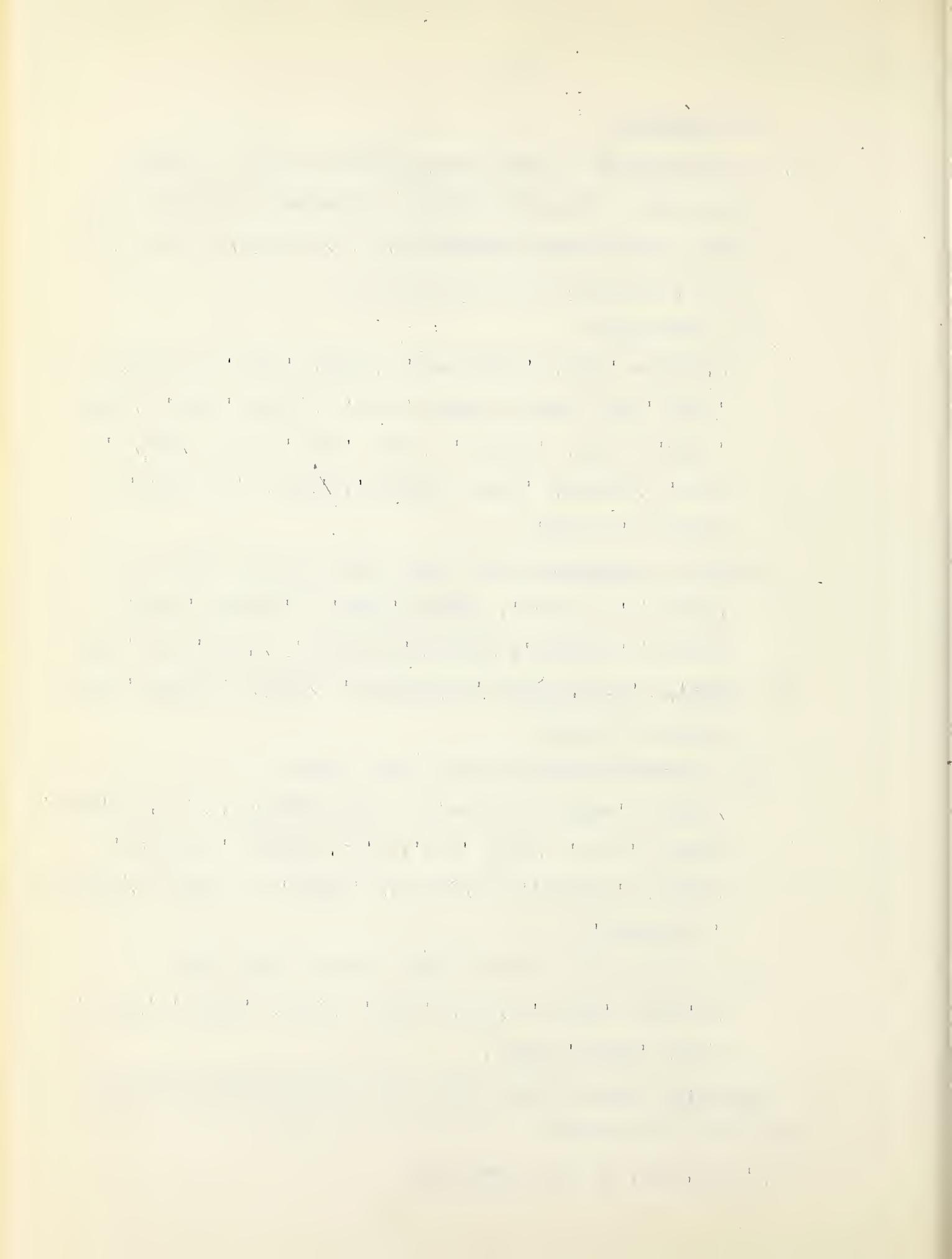
is followed by an offglide, there will result the
same velarization as after /ə/.

/štrigəl/ 'curry comb'[41]; /el/ 'oil'; /ɑil/ 'owl';
/štregəl/ 'hair comb'[41]; /fil/ 'much'; /hel/ 'lair'(of
a wolf); /štil/ 'chairs'.

[ɫ] Finally after /ə/ and back vowels:

/negəl/ 'nails'; /tsigəl/ 'tiles'; /kIpəl/ 'peak','sum-
mit'; /ɛpəl/ 'apples'; /'blumən,kaxəl/ 'flower pot';
/šIsəl/ 'dish'; /atsəl/ 'magpie'; /satəl/ 'saddle';
/hIbəl/ 'hill'; /vɔl/ 'wool'; /bUkəl/ 'back'(noun);
/šul/'school'.

(h) <u>Trills</u>

/r/ Apico-alveolar, voiced trill. Under emphasis it is
regularly realized as [ř]; a less emphatic form is [ɼ],
which occurs more often than the untrilled [r], also a
less emphatic form. /r/ occurs in all positions.

[ř]~[ɼ]~[r] Initially before vowels:

/regent/ (it) 'rains'; /rixə/ 'to smell'; /rInt/ 'head
of cattle'; /rɔgən/ 'barley'; /rɑm/ 'cream'; /raUbər/
'robber'; /rat/ 'rat'; /rɑp/ 'raven'; /re/ 'rain'(noun);
/rɛxə/ 'rake'; /rɛdə/ 'talk'.

[ř]~[ɼ]~[r] Intervocalically:

/firə/ 'four';/gəborən/ 'born'; /karə/ 'car'; /šmerə/ 'to

---

[41] This applies when the realizations are with /g/ at zero
/štrigəl/ becomes [štřiəɫ]
/štregəl/ " [štreəɫ]

spread'; /'far,ɔks/ 'bull'; /ɔštərə/ 'Easter'; /gUmərə/

'gherkins'; /,gɛlə'ribə/ 'carrots'.

[ř]∽[ɼ]∽[r]∽[r̥]∽[ɼ̥]∽[ɪ]∽[ø] Finally devoicing may occur.

    This allophonic range is in order of decreasing

    emphasis.

/jɛnər/ 'January'; /jɑr/ 'year'; /dɔktər/ 'doctor';

/vasər/ 'water'; /sIfər/ 'heavy drinker'; /'mɔI,kebər/

'Maybug'; /habər/ 'oats'; /pedər/ 'Peter'; /šUtər/'rubble'

/kɛrpər/ 'body'; /fɑIər/ 'fire'; /saUər/ 'sour/.

(g) <u>Semi-vowels</u>

/j/ Point of articulation is a constriction between dorsum

    and palate. Constriction is insufficient to produce

    friction sounds as in [ɟ]. Voiced. Occurs only in

    initial position before vowels.

[j]

    /jɛnər/ 'January'; /juni/ 'June'; /juli/ 'July';

    /jUkə/ 'to itch'; /jɑr/ 'year'; /jusə/ 'to use';

    /jɑ/ 'yes'.

H   LIST OF CLUSTERS

The order followed is by the beginning phonemes of the

clusters.

Although some clusters ending in /s/ are due to contrac-

tions of /ɛs/ 'it', they are included because of their

frequency, e.g. /brɑIxəns/ (we) 'use it'.

Tension for the stops and spirants is given except where

insufficient evidence was present.

/pt/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /p/ unreleased.

    /fɛ'klɔpt/ 'battered'(adj.)

    Also occurs bridging two syllables.

    /ˌsɛp'tɛmbər/ 'September'; /'apgəˌšɛptə 'mIlIx/ 'skim

    milk'.

/ps/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax.

    * /klɔps/ 'hit it' (imperative).[42]

    Also occurs bridging two syllables.

    /hUpsə/ 'to jump'.

/pl/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. The stop is

    lenis. There is neutralization of the contrast /pl/:/bl/.

    The nature of /l/ depends on the following vowel.

    /plaUdərə/ 'to talk','chat'; /'platˌkɔp/ 'bald head';

    /platsə/ 'to burst'; /plapərt/ 'chatters'; /plačt/

    'splashes'(verb); /plɛtsər/ 'seats','places'.

/pr/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. The stop is

    lenis. There is neutralization of the contrast /pr/: /br/.

    The nature of /r/ varies as outside clusters.

    /praIs/ 'price'; /a'prIl/ 'April'; /'predIx/ 'sermon';

    /'prɛdIgər/ 'preacher'; /prɔšt/ 'simple','common'.

/tr/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. The stop is

    lenis. The contrast /tr/: /dr/ is neutralized.

    /trUkə/ 'dry'(adj.); /trIŋkə/ 'to drink'; /traUbə/'grapes'[43]

---

[42] An asterisk(*) preceding the first oblique line indicates
that this form was not actually recorded but that there
is no doubt in the investigator's mind that it exists.

[43] /traUbə/~/traUbən/

/trabəl/ 'trouble'; /trip/ 'dull';'gloomy'; /gətrʊmt/
'dreamt'(past part.).

/kt/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. The /k/ is
not released.

/gʊkt/ 'looks'(verb); /šIkt/ 'sends'.

Also occurs bridging two syllables.

/ˌɔk'tobər/ 'October'; /dɔktər/ 'doctor';

/kv/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax.

/kvɛlt/ 'oozes'.

/ks/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax.

/'farˌɔks/ 'bull'; /sɛks/ 'alternative form of /sɛksə/
'six'; /nIks/ 'nothing'.

Also occurs bridging two syllables.

/sɛksə/ 'six'; /flɛksə/ 'to flex'.

/kn/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. Tension is
lenis. Release of the /k/ is direct into the nasal
cavity: [k^N ŋ] [g^N ŋ] [k^N n] [g^N n]

/knɔxə/ 'bone'; /knebəl/ 'club'(weapon); /knUlə/
'potatoes';[44] /kniə/ 'to kneel'.

/kl/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. /k/ is lenis.
The nature of /l/ depends partly on the following vowel,
but is never clear because of the nearness of /k/.
Contrast /kl/: /gl/ neutralized.

/klas/ 'class'; /klʊ/ 'small'; /klɔpə/ 'to beat','knock';
/kle/ 'clover'.

_____

[44] This word is not customary for the informant; she usually
uses /'grUmˌberə/.

/kr/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. /k/ is lenis;

/r/ as elsewhere. Contrast /kr/: /gr/ neutralized.

/krUm/ 'crooked'; /krigə/ 'to get'; /krUšt/ 'crust'(bread);

/krants/ 'wreath'; /kraIts/ 'cross'(noun); /krIxə/ 'to

crawl'; /kratsə/ 'to scratch'; /kraIšə/ 'to howl';

/kraUt/ 'cabbage'; /kram/ 'cramp'(noun).

Also occurs bridging two syllables:[45]

/'kUk,rUts/ 'corn on the cob'.

/bl/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. The contrast

/bl/: /pl/ is neutralized. The stop is lenis; the nature

of /l/ depends on the following vowel.

/'blumən,kaxəl/ 'flower pot'; /blo/ 'blue';

/,aUgən'blIk/ 'moment'; /brIlə/ 'glasses','mask!';

/'blaŋkə,tsωn/ 'wooden fence'; /blaŋk/ 'fence board';

/blaIbə/ 'to remain'.

/br/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. The contrast

/br/: /pr/ is neutralized. The stop is lenis; /r/ as

elsewhere.

/brif/ 'letter'; /brot/ 'bread'; /braUn/ 'brown';

/braIxə/ 'to need','use'; /fɛ'brɔx/ 'broken'.

/dl/ Occurs bridging two syllables.

/adlər/ 'eagle'.

/dr/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. The contrast

/dr/: /tr/ is neutralized. The stop is lenis; /r/ as

elsewhere.

---

[45] This is unusual. The clusters composed of a stop plus /r/ are
otherwise restricted to one syllable, before the climax.

/draI/ 'three'; /draUs/ 'outside'; /drUf/ 'on it';
/drɑt/ 'wire'.

/gl/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. /g/ is lenis:
/l/ tends to be velarizedon account of its proximity to
/g/, but the following vowel has a greater effect on its
velarity. Contrast /gl/: /kl/ is neutralized.

/glIk/ 'happiness'; /glidər/ 'limbs'; /glɑs/ 'glass';
/glɔk/ 'bell'; /glɑIx/ (I) 'like'.

/gr/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. Contrast
/gr/: /kr/ is neutralized. The stop is lenis.

/grɑs/ 'grass'; /grɑb/ 'grave'(noun); /gro/ 'gray'.

The sequence /gəs/ results in many cases in a realization
[gz] or [ks] before the syllable climax.

/gəˑsUnt‚hɑIt/ 'health'; /gəsUŋ/ 'sung'; /gəsiŋs/
'singing'(pejorative); /gəsɑt/ 'said'(past part.).

/t̪st/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax.
/gəplat̪st/ 'burst'(past part.); /krat̪st/ 'scratches'(verb);
/sIt̪st/ 'sits'.

/t̪sv/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. The /v/ is
often devoiced and it is lenis. [β]~[ɸ] is typical.

/t̪sve/ 'two'; /t̪svɛlfə/ 'twelve'; /'t̪svant̪sIx/ 'twenty'.

/čt/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax.
/plačt/ 'splashes'(verb).

/ft/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax.
/šlɑft/ (he)'sleeps'; /kaUft/ (he)'buys'; /laUft/ (he)
'runs'.

/fs/   Occurs in one syllable after the climax.

   /kaUfs/ 'buy it'.

/fšt/   Occurs in one syllable, after the climax.

   /šlɑfšt/ 'sleep' (2nd pers. sing.).

/fl/   Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. /f/ is lenis;
   the nature of /l/ depends on the following vowel.

   /flɛksə/ 'to flex'; /flInt/ 'rifle'; /flɔk/ 'flea';

   /fligə/ 'to fly'; /flIkə/ 'to patch'.

/fr/   Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. /f/ is lenis;
   /r/ as elsewhere.

   /frɑInt/ 'friend'; /ˌfranˈtsesIš/ 'French'; /frɑ/

   'woman','wife'.

/st/   This cluster is of rare occurrence outside the 3rd
   person singular, pres. indic. of verbs which have /s/
   before the inflection.

   /Ist/ 'is'[46]; /ist/ 'east'; /vɛst/ 'west'; /ˈɛstəˌrɑIx/

   'Austria'; /past/ 'fits'(verb); /last/ 'lets'(verb);

   /šist/ 'shoots'(verb).

/šp/   Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. The cluster
   is lenis. The /p/ may be voiced before voiced sounds.

   /špatsə/ 'sparrow'; /ˈšpɛkˌmaUs/ 'bat'; /špat/ 'late';

   /špas/ 'fun'; /špɑIxət/ 'loft','granary'.

/špr/   Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. /šp/ is
   lenis, /p/ sometimes voiced.

   /šprɛxə/ 'to speak'; /šprIŋə/ 'jump'; /šprItst/ 'splashes'.

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[46] The normal form of this verb is /Is/. The present form may
reflect Standard German.
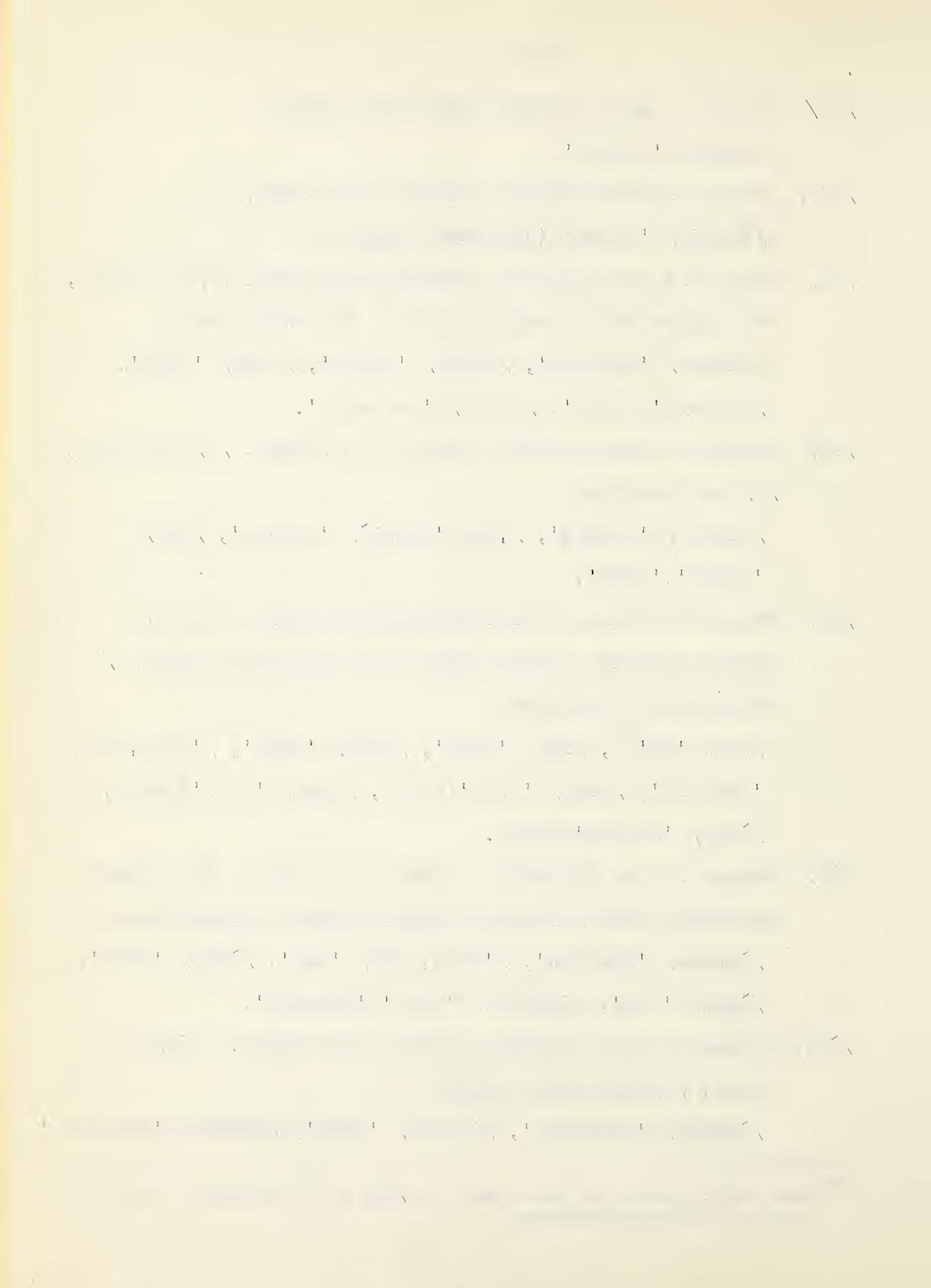
/št/   Occurs in one syllable, both before and after the climax.

    Before the climax the cluster is lenis; /t/ may be voiced

    before voiced sounds. After the climax, it is fortis

    after short vowels and lenis after diphthongs.

  Before:

    /štɔrk/ 'stork'; /šte̦/ 'stones'; /štUm/ 'dumb'; /štil/

    'chairs'; /štIl/ 'quiet'; /štɔpət/ 'stopper'; /štark/

    'strong'; /štѡ̦/ 'stone'; /štɛmps/ 'postage stamps'.

  After:

    /mɔšt/ 'cider'; /pɔšt/ 'post office'; /ˌaU'gUšt/

    'August'; /mIšt/ 'manure'; /gɑIšt/ 'ghost'; /prɔšt/

    'simple','common'.

  Also occurs bridging two syllables.

    */gɑIštə/ 'ghosts'.

/štr/   Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. The /št/

    is lenis.

    /štrigəl/ 'curry comb'; /štrɑItə/ 'to quarrel';

    /štrɑIx/ 'trick','prank'; /štrɑUs/ 'bunch'(of flowers);

    /'štrak̦aUs/ 'straight ahead'; /štregəl/ 'hair comb'.

/šv/   Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. The cluster

    is lenis. /v/ may be devoiced.

    /'švalbən̦švants/ 'dove tail'; /švax/ 'weak'; /sver/

    'difficult','heavy'; /'švebIš/ 'Swabian'.

/šm/   Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. /š/ is lenis.

    /šmirə/ 'to spread'; /šmɑIsə/ 'to throw'.
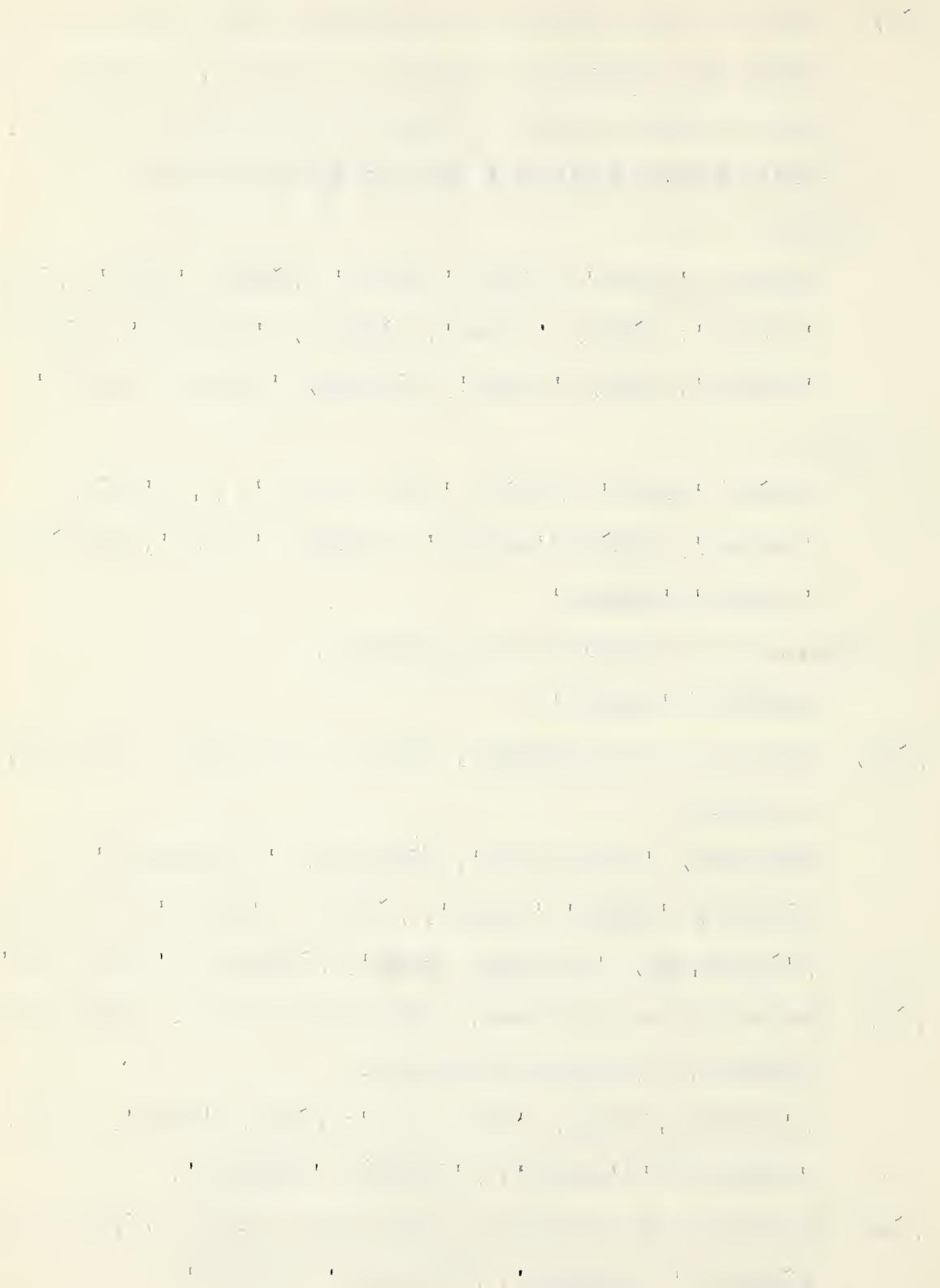
/šn/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. /š/ is lenis.

/šnaʊfə/ 'to breathe'; /šnaɪdə/ 'to cut'; /šnɛl/ 'quick','quickly'.

/š/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. /š/ is lenis.

/šnaʊfə/ 'to breathe'; /šnaɪdə/ 'to cut'; /šnɛl/ 'quick', 'quickly'.

/šl/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. /š/ is lenis.

/šlafə/ 'to sleep'; /šlaʊx/ 'hose';'clever'; /šlaŋ/ 'snake'.

/šr/ Occurs in one syllable, before the climax. /š/ is lenis.

/šrɪt/ 'step'(noun); /šraŋk/ 'cupboard'; /šraɪbə/ 'to write'; /'šraɪp‚tabəl/ 'handbag'.

/xt/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /x/ in positional variants and tension as elsewhere. /t/ lenis.

/naxt/ 'night'; /laɪxt/ 'easy','light'; /laxt/ 'laughs' (verb).

Also occurs bridging two syllables.

/'vaɪ‚naxtə/ 'Christmas'; /axtə/ 'eight'; /gə'šɪxtə/ 'story'; /lɪxtər/ 'altar candles'.

/mp/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /p/ is lenis.

/damp/ 'steam'; */štɛmp/ 'postage stamp';

Occurs bridging two syllables.

/štampə/ 'to stamp'(with the feet).

/mps/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax.

/štɛmps/ 'postage stamps'.

/mt/   Occurs in one syllable after the climax. /t/ is lenis.

    /kUmt/ 'comes'; /švImt/ 'swims'; /gətrʊmt/ 'dreamt'

    (past part.).

/mb/   Occurs bridging two syllables. /b/ is lenis.

    /ˌsɛp'tɛmber/ 'September'; /ˌno'fɛmbər/ 'November';

    /ˌdɛ'tsɛmbər/ 'December'; /'grUmˌberə/ 'potatoes.

/mf/   Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /f/ is lenis.

    */'fImfˌnaxt/ 'five nights'.

  Also occurs bridging two syllables.

    /fImfə/ 'five'.

/nt/   Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /t/ is lenis.

    /rent/ (it) 'is raining'[47]; /šɛnt/ 'grumbles at';

    /kInt/ 'child'; /vInt/ 'wind'; /flInt/ 'military rifle';

    /rInt/ 'head of cattle'; /gə'sUntˌhaIt/ 'health';

    /fraInt/ 'friend'; /grUnt/ 'ground','soil'; /pUnt/

    'pound'(weight).

  Also occurs bridging two syllables. /t/ may be voiced.

    /vIntər/ 'winter'.

/nd/   Occurs bridging two syllables. /d/ is lenis.

    /vIndIx/ 'windy'; /kIndər/ 'children';[48] /Undər/ 'under'[48];

    /'hɔˌlɛndər/ 'Dutchman'; /'ɛndərIx/ 'drake'.

/nts/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /ts/ is lenis.

    */vants/ 'bug'; /'oˌmɛnts/ 'ant'; /švants/ 'tail'.

  Also occurs bridging two syllables. /ts/ is lenis.

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[47] Also heard in the form: /regənt/.

[48] /Undər/, /kIndər/∼/Unər/, /kInər/.
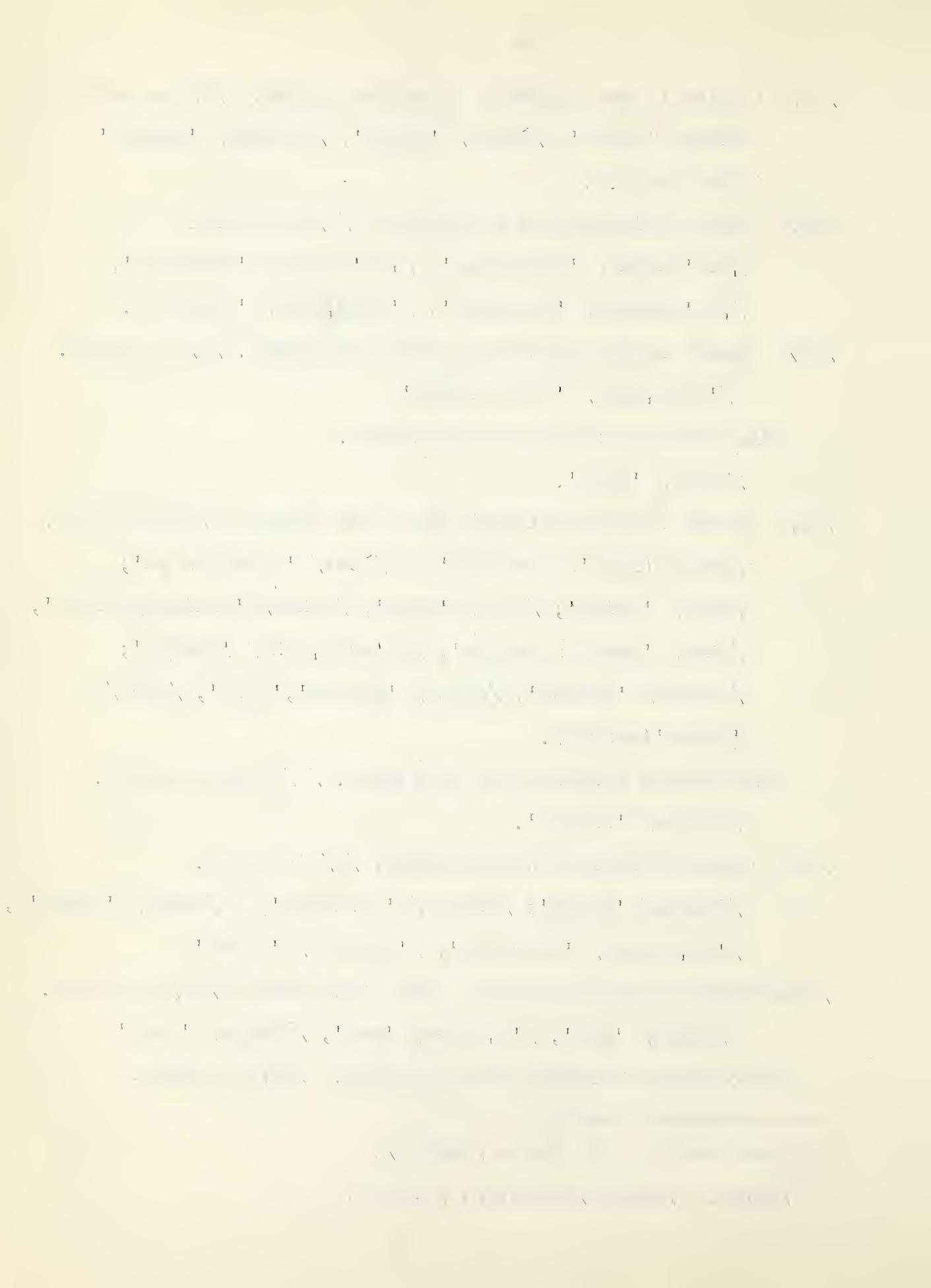
/vantsə/ 'bugs'; /ˌfran'tsezIš/ 'French'; /'oˌmentsə/
'ants'.

/ns/   Occurs in one syllable after the climax. These forms
often result from the contraction /s/ from /ɛs/ 'it' or
from /das/ 'the'. /s/ is lenis. Excrescent [t] is
likely.

/pakəns/ (we)'pack it'; /braIxəns/ (we)'use it';
/Ins/ 'into the'; /gans/ 'goose'.

Also occurs bridging two syllables. Possible voicing of
/s/.

/gansərt/ 'gander'

The following forms contain [ŋ] as an allophone of /n/:
/'UnˌglaUbIx/ 'unbelieving','atheistic'; /'UnˌglIk/
'misfortune'; /'blumənˌkaxəl/ 'flower pot'.

/ŋk/   Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /k/ is lenis.
/baŋk/ 'bench'; /bɛŋk/ 'benches'; /blaŋk/ 'fence-board';
/gədɛŋk/ (I) 'remember'.

Also occurs bridging two syllables. /k/ usually voiced.
/trIŋkə/ 'to drink'; /štIŋkə/ 'to stink'; /blaŋkə/
'fence boards'; /hIŋkəl/ 'chicken'.

/ŋs/   Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /s/ is lenis.
/gəsIŋs/ 'singing' (pejorative);
/fɛ'gresəˌrUŋsˌglɑs/ 'telescope'.

/lp/   Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /p/ is lenis.
The /l/ is strongly velar.
/kalp/ 'calf'; /halp/ 'half'; /kɔlp/ 'corn cob'.

/lt/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /t/ is lenis.

/fɛlt/ 'field','soil'; /kalt/ 'cold'; /alt/ 'old';

/gəvɔlt/ 'wanted'(past part.); /gɔlt/ 'gold'; /vIlt/

'want'(2nd pers.sing.); /kvɛlt/ 'oozes'.

Also occurs bridging two syllables. /t/ may be voiced.

/ˌaltər 'hut/ 'old hat'.

/lk/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /k/ is lenis.

/vɔlk/ 'cloud'(noun); /balk/ 'beam'(noun).

Also occurs bridging two syllables. /k/ may be voiced.

/balkə/ 'beams'(noun); /vɔlkə/ 'clouds'(noun); /mɛlkə/

'to milk'.

/lb/ Occurs bridging two syllables. /b/ is lenis.

/'švalbənˌšvants/ 'dove tail'; /sIlbər/ 'silver'.

/ld/ Occurs bridging two syllables. /d/ is lenis.

/ˌsɔl'datənˌkap/ 'helmet'.

/lts/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax.

/salts/ 'salt'; /hɔlts/ 'wood'.

/lf/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax. /t/ is lenis.

/hɛlf/ 'help'(imperative); /ɛlf/ 'eleven'[49]; /tsvɛlf/

'twelve'.[49]

Also occurs bridging two syllables. /f/ may be voiced.

/ɛlfə/ 'eleven'; /tsvɛlfə/ 'twelve'; /hɛlfə/ 'to help'.

/ls/ Occurs in one syllable, after the climax.

/hɔls/ 'fetch it'[50]

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[49] These forms appear when followed by a plural noun;a final
schwa is heard when the number is a single or final utterance.

[50] An excrescent [t] is present here: [hoəɫts].
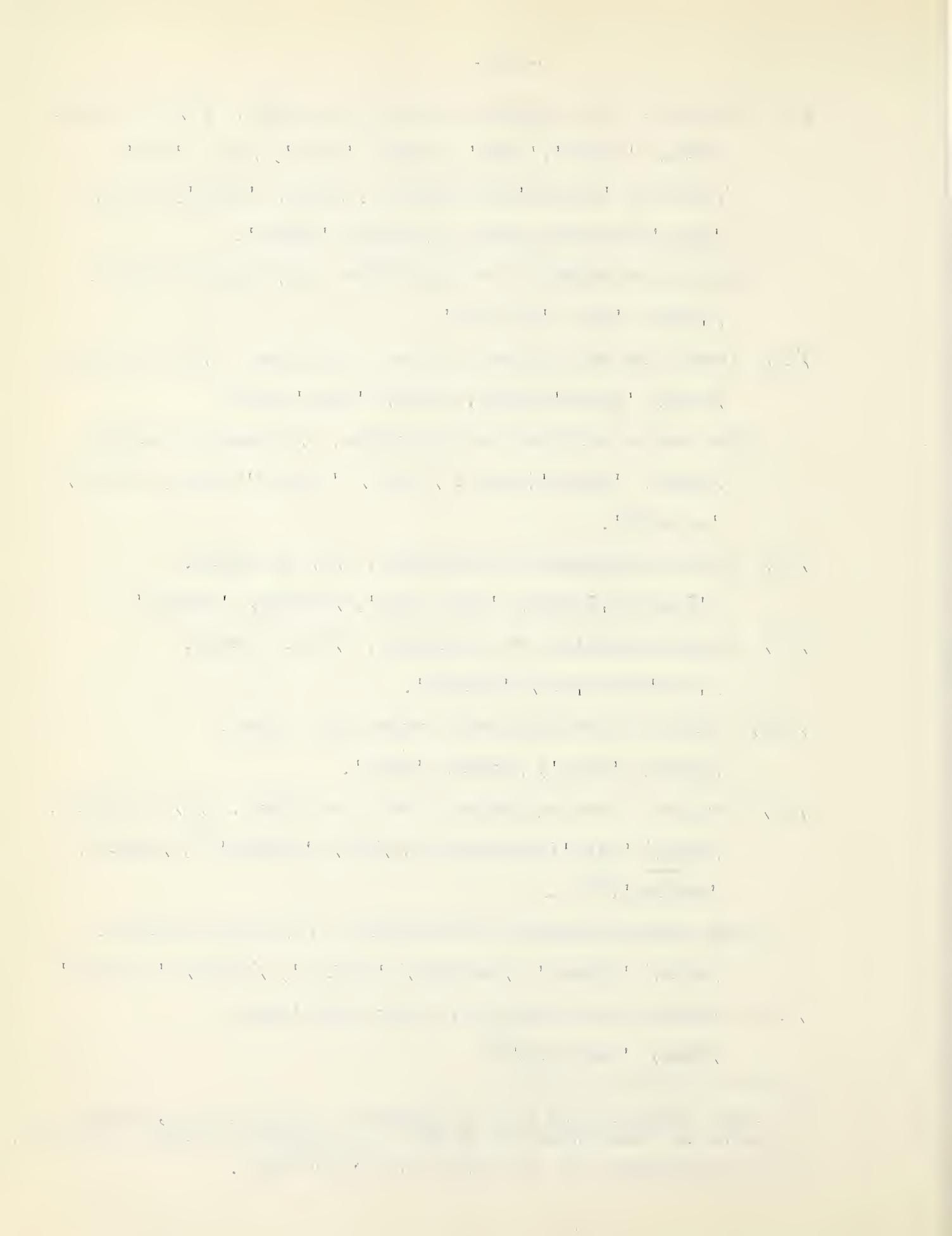
Clusters beginning with /r/. For discussion of these see Introduction, page 39. Tension of the stop is fortis, unless otherwise stated.

/rp/ In one syllable:

/kɔrp/ 'basket'

Bridging two syllables:

/kɛrpər/ 'body'.

/rt/ In one syllable:

/fɔrt/ 'away'; /fɛrt/ 'horse'[51]; /nɔrt/ 'north'; /'mIsgəˌburt/ 'dwarf'; /hart/ 'hard'.

Bridging two syllables:

*/ˌhartəs 'flɑIš/ 'tough meat'; /gɑrtə/ 'garden'.

/rk/ In one syllable:

/štark/ 'strong'; /štɔrk/ 'stork'; /mɛrk/(I) 'notice'.

Bridging two syllables:

*/ˌštarkə 'mɛnər/ 'strong men'; /mɛrkə/ 'to notice'.

/rb/ Bridging two syllables; /b/ is lenis and may become a spirant [β].

/šɛrbəl/ 'sherd'; /kɛrbəs/ 'pumpkin'.

/rd/ Bridging two syllables: /d/ is lenis and may become a spirant [đ].

/mɔrdər/ 'murderer'; /'aUsgəˌmaxt'vɛrdə/ 'to be put out'.

/rts/ /r/ plus affricate. In one syllable:

/mɛrts/ 'March'; /kUrts/ 'short'.

Bridging two syllables:

/'fIrtsIx/ 'forty'; */ˌkUrtsə 'tɑgə/ 'short days'.

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[51] /gaUl/ is the usual term for <u>horse</u>.
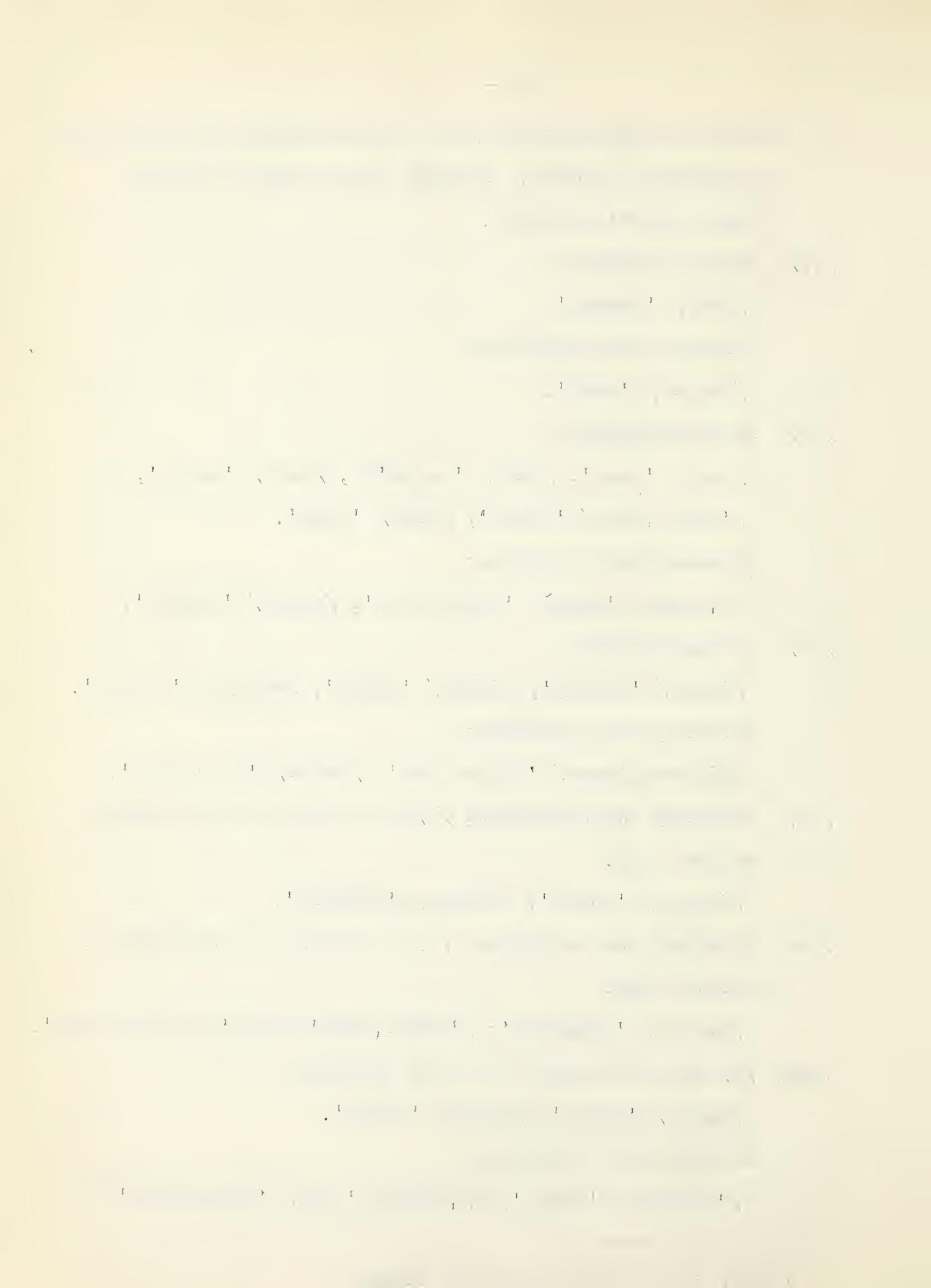
/rf/   In one syllable:

   /dɔrf/ 'village'; /šarf/ 'sharp'.

   Bridging two syllables:

   /dɛrfər/ 'villages'; /sɛrfə/ 'to sharpen'.

/rš/   In one syllable:

   /bUrš/ 'chap','fellow'; /kIrš/ 'cherry'.

   Bridging two syllables:

   /bUršə/ 'chaps','fellows'; /kIršə/ 'cherries.

/rx/   In one syllable:

   /kIrx/ 'church'; /dUrx/ 'through'.

/rm/   In one syllable:

   /varm/ 'warm'; /arm/ 'arm','poor'; /tUrm/ 'tower'(noun).

   Bridging two syllables:

   /armə/ 'arm'(dat.)

/rn/   In one syllable:

   /štɛrn/ 'star'.

   Bridging two syllables:

   */štɛrnə/ 'stars'.

/rl/   In one syllable:

   /kɛrl/ 'chap','fellow'.

   Bridging two syllables:

   /'ur₁laUp/ 'leave','furlough'; */kɛrlə/ 'chaps','fellows'.

   The following clusters are not referred to in the
introduction, which deals with clusters composed of /r/
plus only one consonant. Where the /r/ is [ř] or [ɾ], the
following member of the cluster is fortis but not neces-

sarily the third or fourth. Usually, however, the /r/ is
realized vocalically and the raising to fortis tension of
following sounds less frequent. Except for /ršt/, the
following clusters appear to be fairly rare.
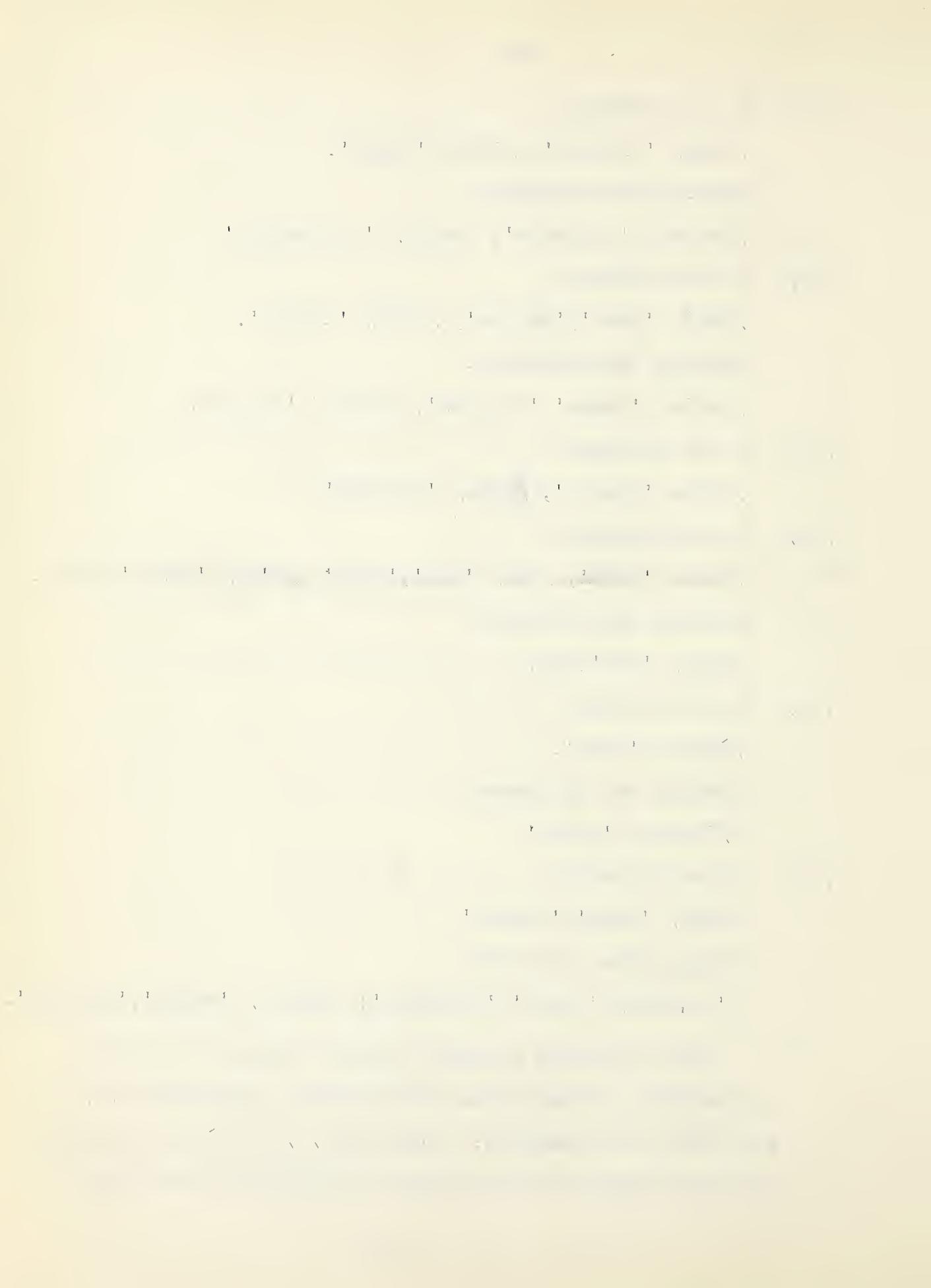
/rps/   Bridging two syllables. Division between /p/ and /s/.

    /ɛrpsə/ 'peas'.

/rts/   In one syllable after the climax:

    /'vIrts,haUs/ 'inn'.[52]

/rkšt/ In one syllable, after the climax:

    /mɛrkšt/(you)'notice'(2nd pers.sing.).

/ršt/   In one syllable, after the climax:

    /tsu,ɛršt/ 'at first'; /bɛršt/ 'brush' (2nd pers.sing.);

    /vɛršt/ 'sausage';[53] /faršt/ 'travel','drive'(2nd pers.

    sing.).

   Also bridging two syllables. Division between /š/ and /t/:

    /bIrštə/ 'to brush'; */vɛrštə/ 'sausages'.

/rxj/   Bridging two syllables. Division between /x/ and /j/.

    /mɛrxjə/ 'fairy story'.

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[52] Phonemically there is no affricate here. Cf. p. 30.

[53] /vɛršt/⁓/vUršt/
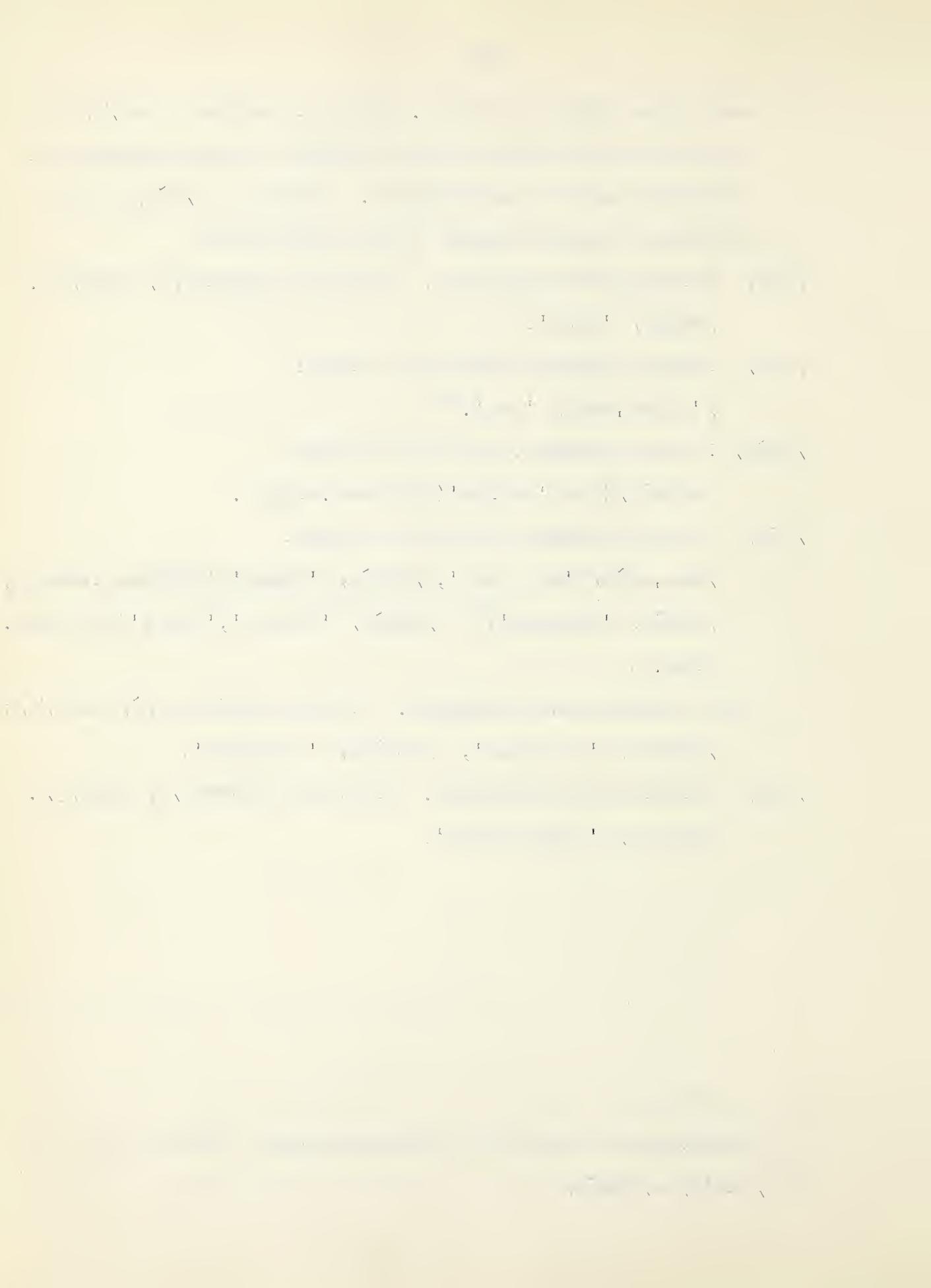
CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

A. FINDINGS

1. Significant features.

(a) A surprising feature of the vowel system of this
idiolect is the correlation of long length with lax tension,
and normal or short length with tenseness, i.e. /i/, /e/, /ɑ/,
/ɯ/, /o/, and /u/ are lax, while /I/, /ɛ/, /a/, /ɔ/, and /U/
are tense.

This contrasts with Standard German, in which [e]
and [i] are tense, [I] and [ɛ] are lax. Similarly in English
the diphthong in [meᶦt] 'mate' is tenser than the vowel in
[mɛt] 'met'.

The phoneme /a/ is less tense than the other normal
length front vowel phonemes. This is understandable when one
considers that its contrast with /ɑ/ can be maintained by other
features, namely position, length and rounding. The relative
importance of tension is reduced.

This contrast of systems between the idiolect on one
hand and English and German on the other, extends to the back
vowels.

(b) The feature of nasalization is characteristic and
easily recognizable. It is most significant when occurring as
coarticulation with final vowels (e.g. /bɯ/ 'legs').

(c) Rounding is rarely present in front vowels allophones
and never absent in back vowels allophones. The low central

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2. <u>Analysis of Clusters</u>.

(a) Clusters including stops. The stop is usually the second
    element. Common in this group are /št/, /nt/ and /r/ plus
    stop.

(b) Clusters including affricates are not of high frequency.

(c) Clusters including spirants.

    (i) as first element:

        spirant + stop. /št/ is the most common.

        spirant + nasal. /š/ begins such clusters.

        spirant + lateral. Only /f/ and /š/ participate.

        spirant + trill. Only /f/ and /š/ participate.

    (ii) as second element:

        Commonest after nasals, laterals and trills.

(d) Clusters including nasals.

    (i) nasal + homorganic stop or spirant.

    (ii) spirant or trill + nasal.

(e) Clusters including laterals.

    (i) lateral + stop or spirant.

    (ii) stop(except /d/ or /t/) + lateral; spirant (only /š/
         or /f/) + lateral.

(f) Clusters including trills are the most frequent.

    (i) As first member of a cluster a trill combines with
        all other consonants except   /h/,/ŋ/,/j/.

    (ii) As second member of a cluster a trill combines with
         all other consonants except /x/,/h/,/ŋ/,/j/.

(g) Number of phonemic elements. Those clusters with two
    elements form the vast majority. Only seven tri-partite

clusters were recorded, two of which (/štr/ and /špr/)
occur before the climax, and the rest after.[1] Three
of these five were recorded only in one syllable, but they
appear to be of a type that has the possibility of bridging
two syllables.

Disregarding freak clusters, resulting from the juxta-
position of lexemes, the longest cluster recorded was
/rkšt/, occurring in one syllable after the climax.

(h) (i) Clusters beginning with stops are usually in one
syllable, before the climax.

(ii) It is interesting to note that no voiced spirants
begin clusters; those clusters beginning with
voiceless spirants are usually found in one syl-
lable before the climax. The common exception
here is /št/, which may appear in one or two
syllables, before or after the climax.

(iii) Clusters beginning with nasals, laterals and
trills occur after the climax. Those with a
voiced stop as second element occur only spanning
two syllables. The rest possess the characteristic
of appearing not only in one syllable but also
bridging two.

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[1] A cluster /špl/ presumably also exists but was not recorded.
Like /špr/ and /štr/ it would occur before the climax.

3. Origin of dialect.

   The sketch-maps show the present geographic
distribution of dialect features in Germany which are
relevant to this study. If we assume the linguistic boun-
daries to be in approximately the same position as at the
time of the German settlement of Galicia, we have some idea
of the areas from which the settlers came.

   On the maps, the word occurring first in the
designation of a boundary, characterizes the dialects to
the north.

   If we look on map 1, we can localize certain
features of the idiolect under examination: /maxə/ 'to make';
/ɛpəl/ 'apples'; /mit/ 'tired'; /pUnt/ 'pound'(noun); /das/
'that'. These forms would be found in the area centering on
Frankfurt.

   Map 2 throws light on the origin of the following
forms: /gaUl/ 'horse'; /trIŋkə/ realized as [drIŋgə] 'to drink';
/šen/ realized as [še̞n] or [še̞] 'beautiful'; /aIx/ 'you'(2nd
pers.pl.); /haUs/ 'house'; /fɛšt/ 'tight','fast'. The distribu-
tion of /gaUl/, /aIx/ and/haUs/ does not disturb the impression
gained from map 1, that the Frankfurt area is centrally concer-
ned. However, [drIŋgə], [še̞] and /fɛšt/ give evidence that
the idiolect has elements originating further south, in the
Stuttgart area.

   Another characteristic feature of this idiolect is
the diphthong /ɔi/ and the vowel /ɷ/ which is usually accom-

MAP 1

KEY

D	Düsseldorf
M	Marburg
K	Koblenz
F	Frankfurt
S	Stuttgart
1	maken/machen
2	appel/apfel
3	monophthong/diphthong in müde (tired)
4	punt/pfunt
5	dat/das
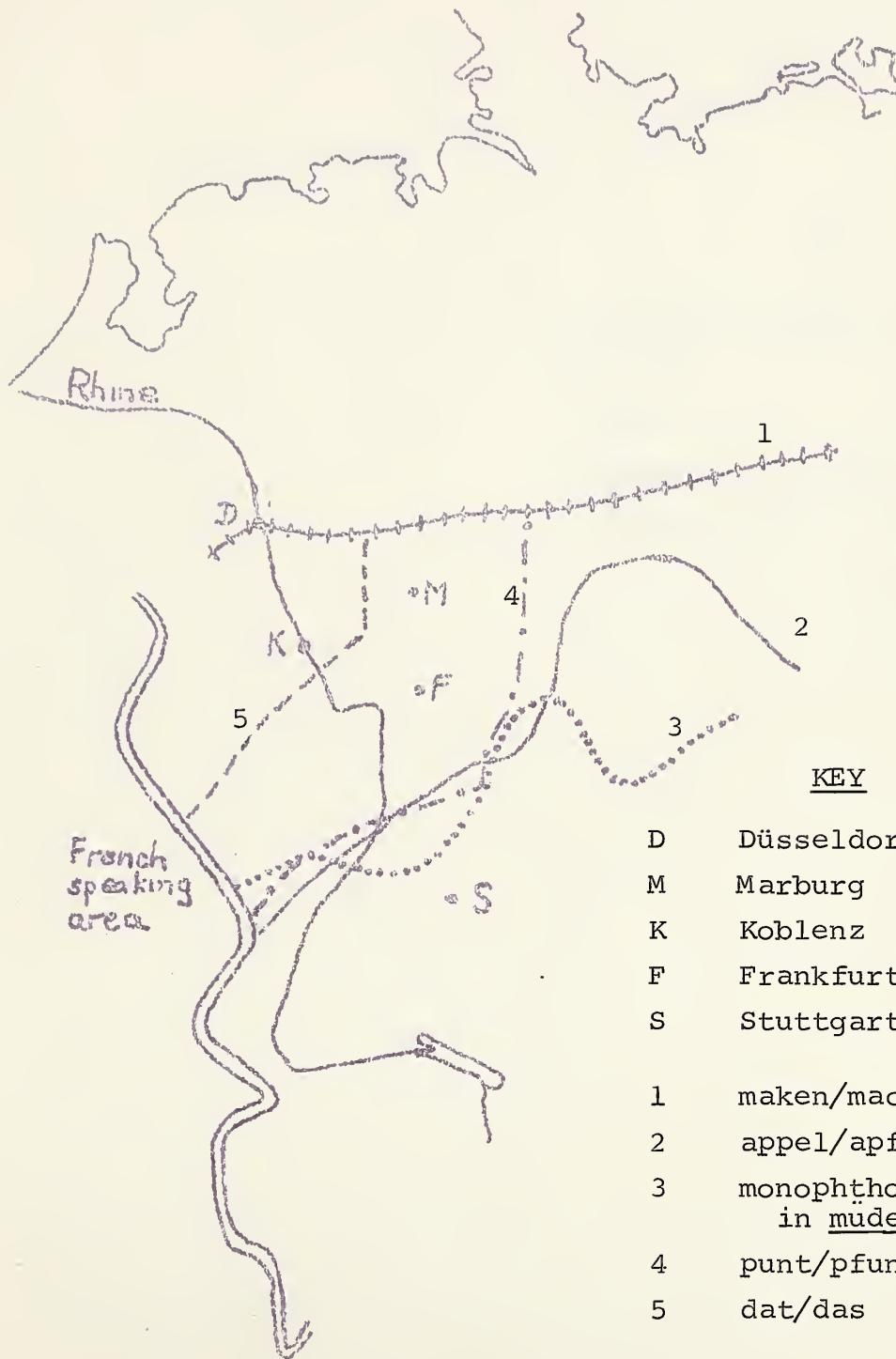
MAP 2
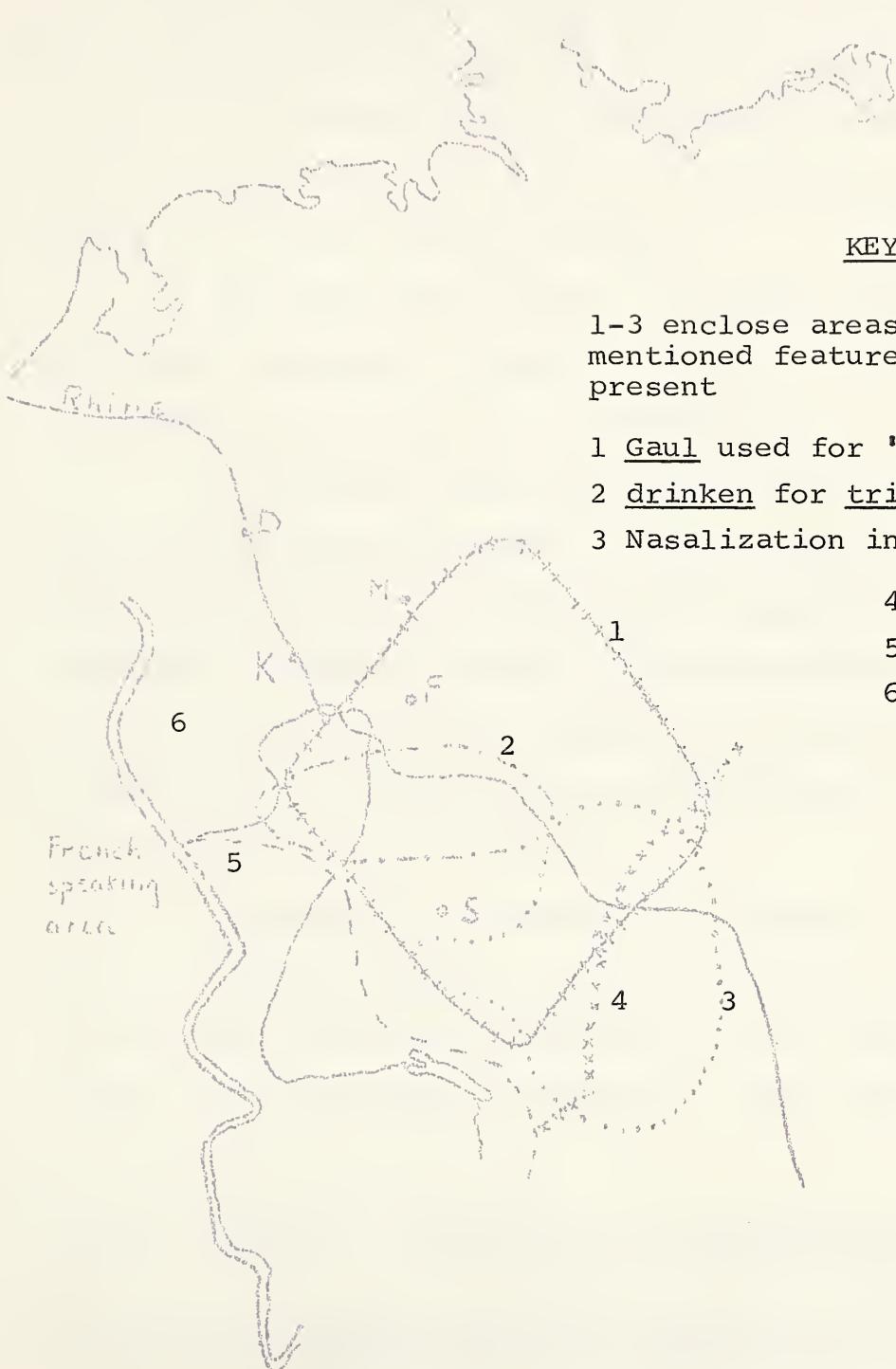
KEY

1-3 enclose areas in which the
mentioned feature or form is
present

1 Gaul used for 'horse'
2 drinken for trinken 'to drink
3 Nasalization in schön 'beautiful'

4 euch/enk
5 haus/hus
6 fest/fescht

panies by an off-glide. Gumperz,[2] in the phonology of a
Swabian dialect, posits a phoneme /oI/ which corresponds
partly to /ɔi/ and partly to /ⱳ/ or /ⱴ/ in this idiolect.
Furthermore, Weise[3] places this diphthong in East Swabian
and mentions nasalization as characteristic of Swabian in
general. This dialect is spoken in the area roughly corres-
ponding to the area around Stuttgart.

The forms /ɛš/ 'ashes' and /vɛšə/ 'to wash' are not
only found in Swabian but also in Rhenish Frankonian, spoken
in an area including that around Frankfurt.

Weise also states that such forms as [kɛřx] for
/kIrx/ 'church' and [ɛř] for /ir/ 'you' are part of West
Middle German, which includes Rhenish Frankonian. To this
same dialect belongs also the distinctive feature of the loss
of the contrast /t/ : /d/. The spirant allophone of /b/ and
the form /fix/ 'cattle' have wide distribution, including the
Frankfurt area but not Stuttgart.

It would be misleading to conclude this brief exa-
mination of the provenance of Galician German without allaying
the impression that we are dealing with two separate origins
for the German settlement of Galicia. This impression is

---

[2] John J. Gumperz, "The Swabian of Washtenaw County" unpub.
diss. (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1954).

[3] Oskar Weise, Unsere Mundarten, ihr Werden und ihr Wesen,
(Berlin and Leipzig, 1919), pp. 239 and 243.

difficult to avoid in presenting the material, because an
important bundle of isoglosses runs north-east between Frank-
furt and Stuttgart, namely the dialect boundary between
Middle German and Upper German. There is nothing in the
evidence to suggest a concentration of colonization recruit-
ment at any points within the total area including Frankfurt
and Stuttgart.

B. FURTHER STUDY

1. It is known that Galician families settled not
only in Stony Plain, but als in Neudorf, Saskatchewan, as well
as in the Beaver Hills district near Edmonton. The Lutheran
congregation at Stony Plain mothered others, among which are
those at Beach Corner, Golden Spike and Spruce Grove. To
judge from census figures, other originally Galician settle-
ments undoubtedly exist. It would be a rewarding task to
locate such settlements and complete the picture of Galician
German in its second remove from native soil.

2. The present study is restricted largely to one
informant in Stony Plain. Clearly, it should be enlarged to
other informants in that community, before we can safely speak
of the features of a dialect. Furthermore, no linguistic study
is complete without an examination of the morphology and
syntax. In this case an appraisal of the influence of English
would also be desirable.

3. Since two centuries have elapsed since the

peopling of Galicia with speakers of German, one might expect
that certain forms still live on in this fading local speech,
which have died out in the main stream of the dialects on
German soil.

This appears to be the case with forms such as
/vɑɪdər/ [vɑɪdəř] 'farther'; /lɑdər/ [lɑdəř] 'ladder';
/tsɑɪdʊŋ/ [tsɑɪdʊŋ] 'newspaper'.

Weifert in his study of a linguistic island in
Slavonic territory mentions that Hessian [r] for intervocalic
[t] in Standard German is a new development; the old folk say
[d].[4] Since the standard forms of the above examples are with
[t], namely [vɑɪtər], [lɑɪtər] and [ˈtsɑɪˌtʊŋ] and since Hessen
is, on another linguistic evidence already discussed, a likely
district of origin of some of the German settlers in Galicia,
[d] is in these cases probably a relic feature.

---

[4]   Ladislaus Weifert, <u>Die Mundart von Vršac (Werschetz)</u>
      (Belgrade, 1935).

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APPENDIX A

TABLES OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Vowels

	front		central		back
high	i	y			u
lower high	ɪ	Y	ɨ	ᵿ	ᴜ
higher mid	e		ə		o
lower mid	ɛ	œ			
higher low	æ	ɐ			ɔ‹······ω
low	æ̣ᵃ		ɑ		ɒ

In the above table, where a symbol is used in a slightly different place from that assigned by customary usage, a dotted arrow indicates the shift.

Diphthongs

$$[a^U], [ɑ^U], [ɑ^ᵿ], [a^ɨ], [a^I], [ɔ^I]$$

The second element of these diphthongs is written above instead of on the line to indicate that it is the less stressed of the two.

Consonants

	Bi-labial		Labio-dental		Dental		Gingivo-alveolar		Palato-alveolar		Post-palatal		Velar		Faucal	
	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd
Stops	p	b			t̪	d̪	t	d			k̑	g̑	k	g		ʔ
affricates							t͡s		t͡š	ʒ						
spirants	φ	β	f	v		đ	s	z	š		ɕ	ɟ̑	x	ɣ	h	ɦ
nasals		m				n̪		n				ɲ̑		ŋ		
laterals¹						l̪		l								
trills²						r̪	r̥	r̃								
semi-vowels										j						

1 The velarized lateral is symbolized thus: [ɫ]

2 Various types of "r" are as follows:

[ř] - the apex of the tongue vibrates, causing intermittent occlusion, i.e. trill.

[r] - The apex of the tongue is held near to the alveolus but without causing audible friction;

[ɹ] - similar to [r] but friction is heard;

[ɾ] - the apex of the tongue makes only one or two vibratory cycles.

Diacritics and other symbols

Symbol	Explanation	Example
[ ]	used to enclose phonetic symbols	[p]
:	vowel above normal length	[fi̥:s]
˘	vowel less than normal length	[šY̆p]
ꞷ	increased labialization or rounding	[i̯ꞷße]
___	spreading	['œ̲ stə ͵ra I ç]
.	tense	[bɛ̣t]
ˏ	lax	[šdɛ̦:lə]
^	vowel raised slightly	[lɛ^:p]
˅	vowel dropped slightly	[šɛ˅r̆fə]
<	vowel fronted slightly	[h <:z]
>	vowel retracted slightly	[ɽa >:p]
ə	centering offglide	[ɛ̦:ᵊɫ]
ₒ	voiceless	[dɔktə̆r̥]
⌒	fronted point of articulation	[sIŋə]
˒	nasalized	[mạn]
⌐⌐	fortis tension	[bɛ̲t̲]
⊢⊣	semi-lenis tension	[šI̲f̲]
⊔	lenis tension	[kle.ße̲]
~	varying with	[i̥:]~[i̥:ᵊ]
∅	zero, no sound	[ə]~[∅]
/ /	used to enclose phonemic symbols	/'o ͵mɛnts/
' ͵	primary and secondary stress; these marks are placed before the syllable; tertiary stress is not marked	/'o ͵mɛnts/ /'o ͵mɛntsə/

Symbol	Explanation	Example
⌢ ⌣	two phones produced with no break in articulation or adjacent similar phones resulting in extra length	[haʊt͡drʊf] [va m͡ maxə]
‛	released with slight aspiration	[bɛt‛]
’	unreleased	[haʊt’]
:	contrasting with	/f/ : /v/
ᴺ	nasal release	[řɔgᴺŋ]
ᴸ	lateral release	[satᴸɫ]
+	open juncture	[nɛks+təs]
ʔ̟	glottalized open juncture	[nω̦ə̠ʔ̟ʔIn]
1,2,3,4	represent four pitch levels	$\left.\begin{array}{c}\\\\\end{array}\right\}$ [šta$^{\text{Ⅱ}}$ ʊf] with 1 3
1+,2+,3+	represent intermediate pitch levels	
´	most or second most prominent syllable in a macrosegment	$\left.\begin{array}{c}\\\\\end{array}\right\}$ ´ ´ 1 3 [šta$^{\text{I}}$ ʊf]
`	third most prominent syllable in a macrosegment	· $\left.\begin{array}{c}\\\\\end{array}\right\}$ analogous to the above
|	end of macrosegment	3 1| 2
|	slight pause in speech	n ω̦ | Ix
||	longer pause in speech	ksiə || dan
*	hypothetical form	*/gɑꞮštə/

APPENDIX B

Transcription

The following two passages were recorded on tape,
then transcribed. The first passage was taped with no third
person in the room. The informant was speaking only to the
writer. The pronunciation and the forms used are more likely
to be influenced by Standard German than those in the second
passage, which was spoken in the presence, not only of the
writer but also of three relatives.

Since naturalness was desired in the recorded
speech, no writing was done while the informant was speaking.
This meant that the allophones of /b/ and /f/ ([ß],[v] and
[φ],[f]) were not recorded on the basis of observed lip posi-
tion. The chief guide in this respect was previous experience.

The transcription of each speech sound is entered
on three different lines as follows:

Line 1.: phonetic transcription including tension,
juncture and word stress;

line 2.: transcription of intonation and sentence
stress; division into macrosegments; the intonation numerals
refer the pich of the vowel directly above in line 1;

line 3.: the phonemic transcription of each sound
is aligned as far as possible directly beneath the phonetic;
word stress has been included again here;

line 4.: the translation; it was found impossible

to align the translation of each word regularly beneath the original, because the word order of English is different from that of German, and because idiomatic usage does not allow of literal translation.

Footnotes are assembled at the end of the second passage.

I.

1. nọ̈:ə + nọ̈ 🗘 In di šdạ:tņ + ßạ⃗ ꭇəm mꞮ^ + sɛks + jạ:ř |

2.   2ɔ́+ | ɔ́ | 2 + 2   ɔ́+ 2+   2   2   2   ɔ́   ɔ́ |

3. n   n   In di štatən   varən mir   sɛks jɑr |

4. No,   no   we were in the States for six years

1. Ɪ^ç + mꞮt' + maꞮm 🗘 ɛ^əštņ + maņ || sɛks + jạ:əꭇ ||

2. ɔ́   2   2   ɔ́2   1   ɔ́ | ɔ́   ɔ́ |

3. Ix   mꞮt   maꞮm   ɛrštən   man || sɛks jɑr ||

4. I   with   my   first husband... six years.

1. dan + sꞮ^n + hꞭə 🗘 'ạᵁɸ + ˌkᵁm + dꞮ̣ + 'hạꞮm + ˌštɛd |

2. 2   2   ɔ́   ɔ́   2̣ | 2   ɔ́   1 |

3. dan   sꞮnt   hir   aᵁfkᵁm   di 'haꞮmˌštɛt |

4. Then   we   came up here .....   the   homestead

1. wạ°št In + ˌsạs + 'kạ štꞮwəņ | dꞮ̣ + 'hạꞮm + ˌšdɛt̬ || dạn +

2. 2ɔ́   2   2   ɔ́+ 2+3 | 1   ɔ́   1 | 2

3. vaꞮšt In   ˌsas'kačꞮvan | di 'haꞮmˌštɛt || dan

4. Do you know? In Saskatchewan? The homestead   (in-

1. hạ ᵇᴺ m+mçꭇ ¹ | sꞮ^m mə + dᵁ̆ ꭇx | hạ ᵇᴺ m+mə + hạ Ɪm | Ɪs +

2. ɔ́   2 | 2   2   ɔ́2 | 2   2   ɔ́+ | 2

3. habən mir¹ | sꞮnt mir dᵁrx | habən mir haꞮm | Ɪs

4. complete   we were through (incomplete
   utterance)   utterance)

1. maͥⁱ + man + ßiˇdə naͯx +ˈsaskət' + ˌsas +ˈkaʦĭwŏn |

2. 2   2́+   2+ 2+ 2   2 2   2   2́+ 2+3 |

3. mɑI   man   vidər nax ˈsaskət   ˌsasˈkačIvan

4. My husband went again to Saskat... Saskatchewan

1. Ʊn + hatͮnə + ˈhɒͦm + ˌšdɛt + ˈaͧɸ + gəˌnɒ^m + ənəhat' +

2. 1   2 2   2ś   1   1́   1 1̀ | 2 2 2+

3. Unt hat ɑInə ˈhɑImˌštɛt   ˈaUfgəˌnom   Unt ɛr hat

4. and took up a homestead.   And he had

1. ɸͥə zaᐳIͭnͭ bͥi:ðə + nɒˇx Unzĕrən + ɸɒᐳ:ðͥ | Ʊn ? dan

2. 2 2   2   3́ 3   2 2+ 2 2   3́ 1 | 1   2

3. fir sɑInə bridər   nox Unsərən   fɑdər | Unt dan

4. it for his brothers and our father as well. And then

1. Iͭs əͥ + ßidͥ səˈͥIkͭkͰm + naͯ^X + ˈnɒˇͥtͭdɑˈkɒ:dɑ + dɑᐳ

2. 2 2   2 2 2 2́+ 2   2   2́+   1+ 2́ 1 | 1

3. Is ɛr   vidər ʦəˈrIkˌkUm nax   ˈnɔrtdɑˈkota   dɑ

4. he came back again to North Dakota   that's

1. ßɑ:rmIͥ ȩ:ᵇͮm + ˈnͤtͭdɑˈkɒ:dɑ | dɑ ßɑͦn + ßI^ə bIs +

2. 1̀ 1 1 1+   1́   1+ 2́ 1 | 2 2̀   2   2

3. vɑrən mir ebən ˈnɔrtdɑˈkota | dɑ vɑrən vir bIs

4. where we were just then - North Dakota. We were there

1. n̥ɛks + tǝs + 'fɹiː‚jɑːᵒ + n̥ɛks + tǝs +'šbeːtjɑːᵒ + ǝ
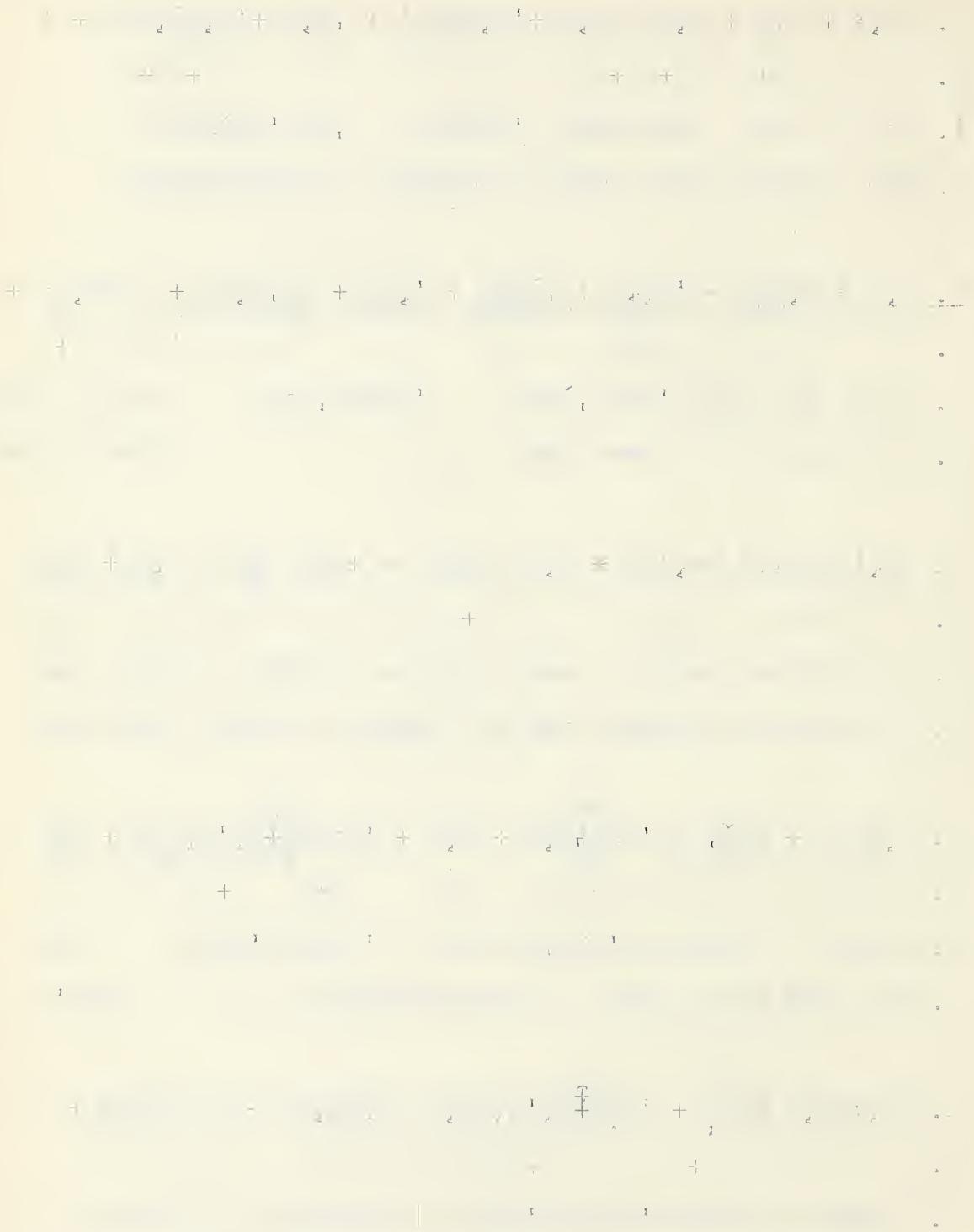
2. 2́+   2   3́   1 | 2́   1   3́   1̀ | 1

3. nɛkstǝs   'friǰar   nɛkstǝs   'špet‚jar   Unt

4. till next spring.......   next   autumn;   and

1. dɑⁿ + sɪm+mɪɹ + fɔ̆<t° Uf + ‚sas'katšɪwan || ßɑːɹ +

2. 1̀   1   1   1́   1   1   2́   1 1 | 1̀

3. dan   sint mir   fɔrt   Uf   ‚sas'kačIvan || var

4. then   we   were   off   to   Saskatchewan.   There were

1. kɑ ɪ̵nǝ gǝbɑ ɪ̵dd̥ + ǝn + ßɑːɹ + kǝ>ɪ̵n ɪ mal + bUš + ßɑːɹ +

2. 2́   2   1 2́ | 1   2   2 | 1   3́   2́ |

3. kaInǝ   gǝbaIt   Unt   var   kaIn | mal   bUš   var

4. no   buildings and there were no... just bush there was,

1. aßǝɹ + sᶻǝ̥ɪnɪ̵ tⱼⱼßaɪ²̵ + brɪːdǝɹ + ßɑːᵒn + šɔ̆<n + dɑː +

2. 2 2   2   2   2́+   3́   2   2   2   3́1

3. abǝr   saInǝ   tⱼsvaI² bridǝr   varn   šon   da

4. but   his   two   brothers   had   already been

1. gǝßɛː^zǝn³||

2. 1 2   1 |

3. gǝvesǝn³ ||

4.   there.

II.

1. ə heçoɫə gəhat + n̥ ha̰>ns + 'dʊrç + go,t̶so:ə + ən də sɒ:<m +

2. 2 3́ 2 2 2 2́+ | 2 2̀   3̀   2 3̀ | 2   2 2́+

3. ə hɛxələ gəhat ʊnt hɑns   'dʊrxgə,t̶so   ʊnt di samə

4. ...had a flax-comb and pulled it through and tore the

1. əra̰ ᵁs̩ + kɾɪs + mɪt̬'t̬də hɛn̥ || ənt̬t̬dan ɪst⁴ɛs + ə:: +

2. 2 3̀   1   2   2 2̀+1| 1+ 2̀ 2   2   1+

3. ,hɛr'aʊsgə,rɪs   mɪt di hɛnt|| ʊnt dan ɪst⁴ɛs   ə

4. seed out by hand   and then it was

1. gədɾɛš + ve̽t̬t̬zə za:>mə + n̥ + ɪs̩ + ß̣çkəgənɒm + ß̣ɣ̌<də |

2. 1+ 2́+   2   2 3̀ 3 | 2   2   3́ 2 2 2́   2+ 2+|

3. gədrɛš   vɔrdə t̶su samə ʊnt ɪs vɛkəgənom   vɔrdə |

4. threshed to   seed   and was taken away.

1. štɾo:ə + ,hamə'mɪs̩ə + na̰ ᵁs̩ + n̥çmə + ɪns̩ + φç̩əɫt̬ || ɦa̰>ns +

2.   3́22+   2 2 2 2   1 2̀   2 2   2   3́1 || 1

3. štro   hɑn mir mɪsə ,hɪn'aʊs,nɛmə ɪns   fɛlt || hɑns

4. straw   we had to take out   into the field,   had

1. mɪs̩ə + ᵁfs̩ + gɾɑ̰:s + le̽jə + n̥ + das̩ + gɾɑ̰:s̩ + ɪs̩ +

2. 2́ 2 1+   3̀   2̀ 2+| 2   2   2́+   2

3. mɪsə ʊfs   grɑs   leə   ʊnt das   grɑs   ɪs

4. to lay it on the grass   and the grass

1. gant ˆ͡s sʊ:gə ˌβaks + ˌmɪt ˈdas mos + nŏɛ t’ ˌkəsɪ ͦ + hɒt ͤ |

2.   ʒ́   ʒ́1 1 1 | 1   1̀ 1   ʒ́   3 2́   1 |

3. gants ʦʊgəvaks   mɪt das mans nɛt gəsiə   hɑt |

4. grew right over,   so that you did not see it...

1. ɸʒ̆rə̆bə> ͡ʊt dʁɑ̲ ͤ + ɸi:ə + βɔxə | ən dan hm͡ mə + di sɪçəl ͚ +

2.   1 1 1   ʒ́   ʒ́́   1̀ 1 | 2   2̀   2 2   2 ʒ́3

3. fɔr əbaʊt draɪ fir   vɔxə | Unt dan han mir di sɪxəl

4. for about three or four weeks. And then we took the sickle

1. gənɔm + ŋ̩ + mʊstn̩ + gɛ:ə   ɛs + ͘ʊf ˌrɑɸə + ɐa> ͦs + rɑ< ͚zə +

2.   3 ʒ́ | 2 | 2̀   2́   2   ʒ́ 1 1 | 2́   2   2 |

3. gənɔm Unt mʊstən geə   ɛs ˈʊf ˌrafə ˈraʊs ˌraɪsə

4.   and had to go to pick it up;   tear it out,

1. ŋ̩ + ˈs ͓amə ˌbɪnə + ŋ̩ + ͡tsə ˈɐɪk + ˌbrĭŋə + bɪ^san dɛ +

2.   1   2́ 2 2 2 | 2   2 2́   2 2   2̀ 2   2

3. Unt ʦusaməbɪnə   Unt ʦə ˈrɪk ˌbrɪŋə   bɪsan di

4. and bind it up,   and bring it back   to   the

1. r̆ɛ^βər̆ || ʊnam + ɐɛ>βər + βɑ ͦn + gɐɔ:zə + lɪ>çəɐ + s ͓o +

2.   ʒ́ 1 | 2 2   2̀+ 3   2   ʒ́ 3   ʒ́1 1 | 2̀

3. rɪbər || Untam rɪbər   varn grosə   lɛxər   so

4. river.   And at the river there were big holes   as

1. gʀǫ:s + ꞵIˆ di + šą jəř || qm̃mə + grǫ:sə + lɑ:dʀə +
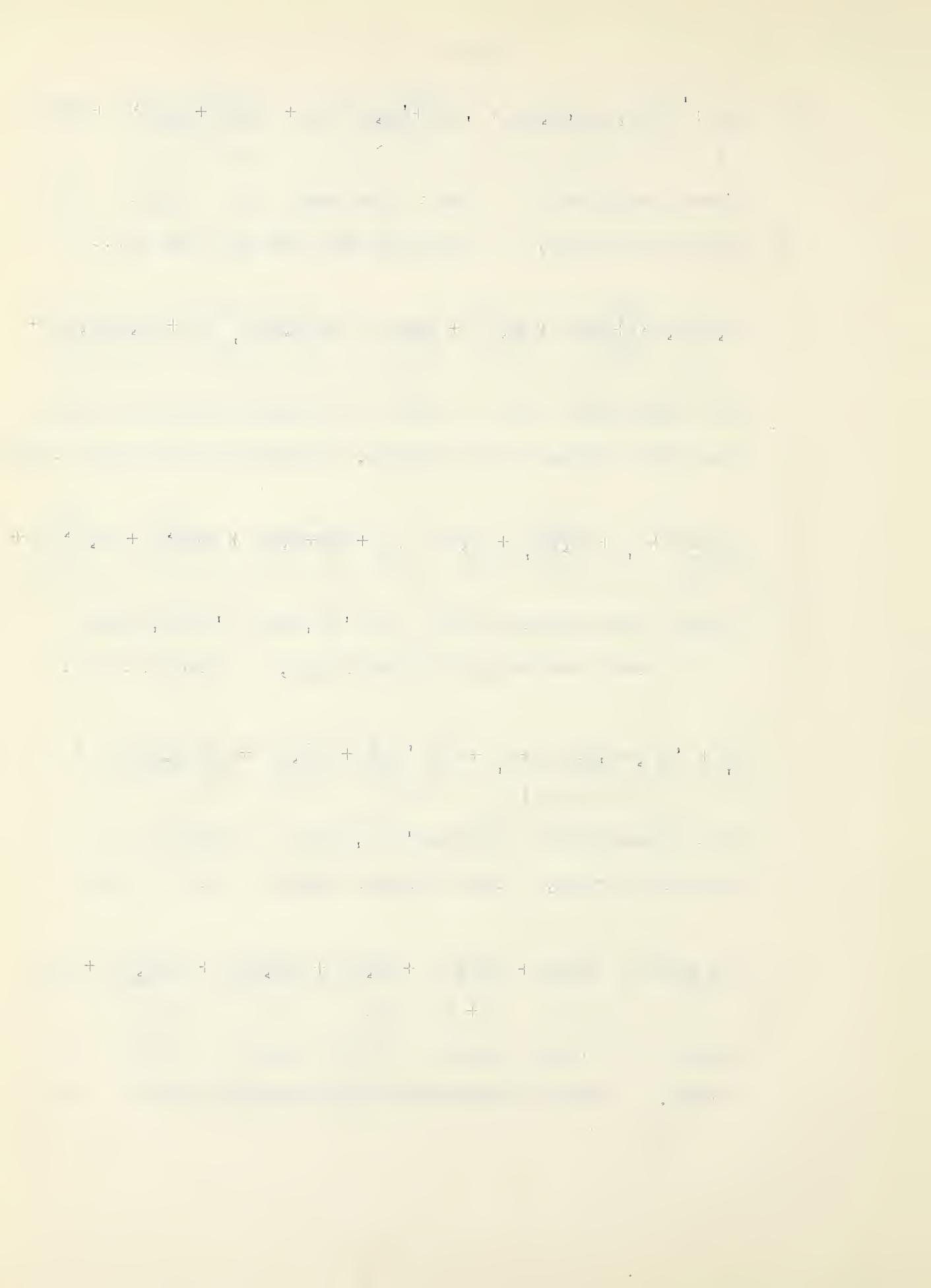
2.   3́   2 2 2́+ 1 | 1 1   2̀ 2   2́ 2

3. gros   vi di šaIər || han mir grosə   ladərə

4. big   as the barn.   We laid big   ladders

1. dʀyꞵəʀ + gəleˆ:ətʿ + Ųn han zÍç + ꞌdʀUf + gə„šdęltʿ + Ųn +

2.   2̀ 2   2 2́ 2+ | 1 1̀ 1   2́   2   2́ | 1

3. dribər   gəlet   Unt han sIx ꞌdrUfgəštɛlt   Unt

4. over them   and stood on them   and

1. hp̌<:ns + ꞌdʀUf + gə„šdęltʿ ⁈ ꞷ:nts + ꞌnęꞵIxs ⁈ ąnəʀə + n̦ ⁈

2.   2̀   2́   1   2́ | 2́   2́ 2   2̀11 1 | 1

3. hans   ꞌdrUfgəštɛlt   ꞷns   ꞌnebIxs   anərə   Unt

4. laid it on them   one(row)   beside the other and

1. ꞷ:nts + ꞌnęꞵIxs ⁈ ąnəʀə | ⁇Ųn dąn ət + hąᵇm̃mə ⁈ Ųn̦ə +

2. 2́   2́ 2   2̀11 1 | 1   2 2   2   2   3́ 3

3. ꞷns   ꞌnebIxs anərə | Unt dan   habən mir Unər

4. one   beside the other. And then   we made a

1. gąn̂ᵗsIn dčs + lɔx + ɸǫ̌<jəř + gəmąx | Ųnt̂dąs Is gədʀIkəłtʿ ⁈

2. 2 2   1   2   1́ 2   2 2̀+ | 1 2́ 2 2 3́ 1 |

3. gants In das lɔx faIər   gəmaxt| Unt das Is gətrIkəlt

4.   fire right down in the hole.   And it   dried

1. Ʊn dạn + hɒ̃m◯mos ə:: ɂ Ɨs əs + gəd‡Ikəltᵉ + Ʊn əs + ßɑř +
2. 1 ʹ2   2 2 1+   1 1   1 ʹ2 2 | 1 1   1
3. Unt dan han mirs .... Is ɛs   gətrIkəlt   Unt ɛs   var
4. and then we ......   it   dried,   and there was

1. sọ ɸị:lə + šmƱk + Ʊn̂ᵈ + rọ‡ç + dạs + mạ'nɛ›t̂ ɂ hật ɂ d‡Uf
2. ʹ2 1 1   ʹ2   1   ʹ312 | 2   1 ʹ2   2   ʹ2
3. so filə   šmƱk   Unt   rɔIx das man nɛt   hat   drƱf
4. so much   smoke and   fumes that you could not stand

1. + kɛnə + štɛ̣:ə + mạ mƱstəɾƱnə + gẹ:ə | ɑbər ɂ ɛs Ɨs +
2.   2 2   ʹ3 2 | 1   ʹ2 2 ʹ3 1   1̀ |1̀ 2   1 2
3.   kɛnə   štɛə   man mƱstə rƱnər gɛə | ɑbər ɛs Is
4.   on   them;   you had to get off.   But   it did

1. nɛ›t' + ɸɛ́b‡ç̌n̂tᵉ ||
2. 1́   2 ʹ31 |
3. nɛt   fɛ'brɛnt ||
4. not get burnt.

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[1] /habən/ is probably the result of the influence of Standard German. One would expect /han/.

[2] /ʦvaI/ is again probably a manifestation of Standard German influence. One would expect /ʦve/.

[3] /varn.....gəvesən/ seems to be a Standard German form. A possible alternative would be /varn friər.../ 'were earlier'.

[4] As above. /Is/ is usual in this idiolect.

APPENDIX C.

Boundaries after the Polish Partitions (1795).
The Austro-Hungarian Empire extends north-east
beyond the Carpathians to include, among other
lands, Galicia, of which the capital is Lviv
(Lemberg).

from G.W. Simpon, Ukraine; an
Atlas of its History and Geography
(London, Toronto, New York, 1941),
Map 10.

APPENDIX D.

Beach
Corner Spruce
Grove

Stony's
Plain EDMONTON

Golden
Spike

Beaverhill
Lake
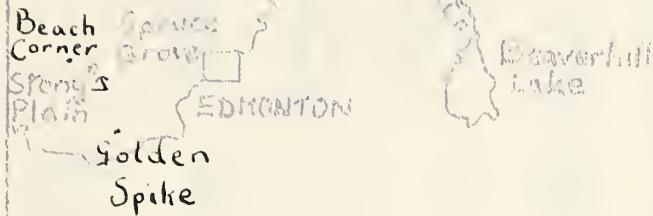
ALBERTA

MAP

of part of Alberta
showing places named
in Chapter I.

Red Deer

Red Deer R.

CALGARY

Bow R.

Medicine Hat

Dunmore

S. Saskatchewan R.

0   10   20   30   40   50   60

MILES
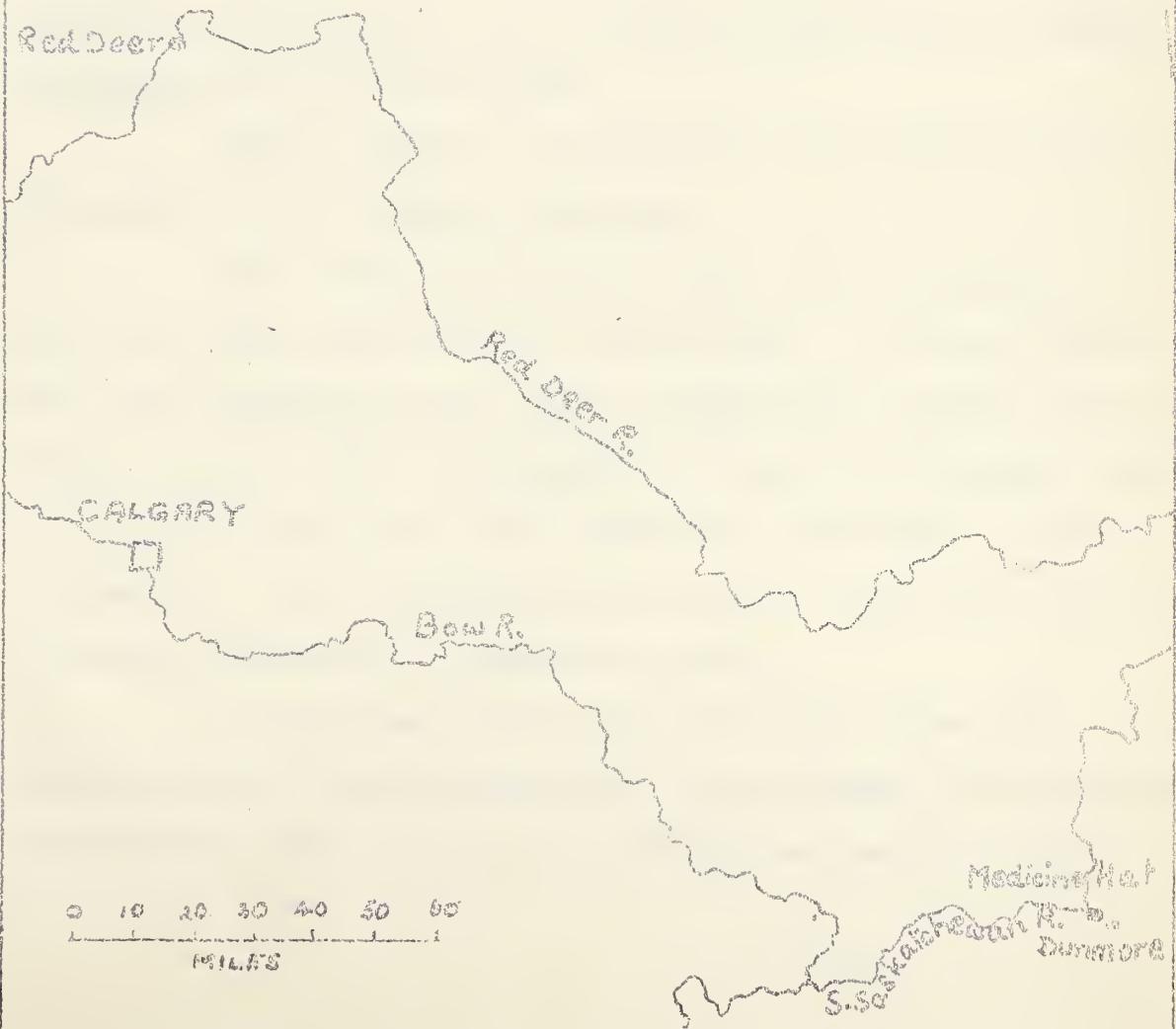
APPENDIX E.

Census Statistics on Stony Plain

Date	Population	Lutheran (Census)	No. in Luth. Congreg.	National origin							
				German	Austrian	British	Polish	Scand.	Ukrainian	Russian	French
1901	651	555	449	588	3	68	–	–	–	7	2
1911	505	323		336	3	82	–	16	–	–	9
1921	360	212		71	74	110	49	9	14	19	3
1931	497	250		295	5	136	3	17	11	3	3
1941	566	260		326	–	168	7	16	20	2	3
1951	878	414									
1961	1098		857								

The two figures in the column headed "No. in Luth. Congregation" are from church records; all others are from the official censuses of Canada and editions of Canada Year Book for the years given.

Where a space is left blank, the figure was not available in the sources consulted.

The census for 1901 uses the term "Stonyplain Centre"; later censuses use "Stony Plain." This may explain why there appears to be a drop in population between 1901 and 1911; in fact, there is probably a change in the census district.

For 1901 and 1911 "Austrian" should read "Austro-Hungarian." This national group includes "Galicians" who are strongly represented in Alberta in 1911.

It is strange that for these years, when the classification "Austro-Hungarian" was available, the Galicians should have been entered in the census as Germans. This

difficulty of classifying Austro-Hungarians in a table of racial origins, no doubt, stems from the fact that the term stands for a political, not a racial entity.

The figure for the German element of Stony Plain for 1921 is remarkably low. There is a smaller drop in the entire population of the town and in the Lutheran population. This may perhaps be accounted for by the wish of many people to dissociate themselves from Germany because of the Great War; the theory is supported by the high totals for "Austrian," "Polish," and "Russian"--totals which are neither preceded nor followed by any nearly so high. It may be significant that 1921 was the year of the bitter dispute over the closing of the Lutheran school. We may be sure the release of daughter congregations was not responsible for such a drop, for these are formed in areas where there is already resident a sufficiently large number of church members to make a congregation; there is no mass movement from the parent community. The war may well have caused a slight drop, but the given figure of 71, representing less than a quarter of the previous census figure, makes one suspect an obscuration of the real situation.